Languages of Love and Hate

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Languages of Love and Hate

Conflict, Communication, and Identity in the Medieval Mediterranean

Edited by

Sarah Lambert and Helen Nicholson

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Preface

The papers in this volume originated in sessions at the International Medieval Congress (IMC) at the University of Leeds, UK, in July 2004, on the theme 'Clash of Cultures'. Six were presented in three sessions organized by Matthew Bennett of the Royal Military Academy, Sandhurst, Susan B. Edgington, and Sarah Lambert, and sponsored by the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East. A further three were presented in a session organized by Matthias M. Tischler and sponsored by the Hugo von Sankt Viktor-Institut, Frankfurt am Main, and two in a session organised by Teresa Shawcross, then of Trinity Hall, Cambridge. Three were presented in sessions organized by the IMC Programming Committee.

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Sarah Lambert
Helen J. Nicholson

February 2011

Abbreviations

CCCM	Corpus Christianorum, continuatio mediaevalis
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
MGH SS	Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores (in folio)
PG	*Patrologiae cursus completus, series graeca*
PL	*Patrologiae cursus completus, series latina*
PMLA	*Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*

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Introduction

Sarah Lambert and Helen J. Nicholson

It has long been axiomatic amongst historians of the Middle Ages that Henri Pirenne's model of a Mediterranean world divided by the advent of Islam is to be abandoned, and Fernand Braudel's approach to a set of historical geographies interlinked by their relationship with the central sea is to be preferred.[1] Notwithstanding this orthodoxy, there were significant degrees of difference in the engagement with each other of the various polities and cultures bordering the Mediterranean over the millennium of the 'Middle Ages'. The latter part of that millennium saw an economic shift which increased and intensified contacts between Europe, North Africa, and western Asia in both peaceful and aggressive ways. This period not only saw the beginning of the series of ideological and political conflicts generally categorized as 'crusades'[2]

[1] Henri Pirenne, *Mohammed and Charlemagne*, trans. by Bernard Miall (London: Unwin, 1939); Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, trans. by Siân Reynolds (London: Collins, 1973).

[2] The historiography dealing with the scope, definition, and significance of this categorisation is vast. See, for example, James Brundage, 'Recent Crusade Historiography: Some Observations and Suggestions', in *Catholic Historical Review*, 49 (1964), 493–507; Jonathan Riley-Smith, *What Were the Crusades*? (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009); Jonathan Riley-Smith, 'History, the Crusades and the Latin East, 1095–1204: A Personal View', in *Crusaders and Muslims in Twelfth-Century Syria*, ed. by Maya Shatzmiller (Leiden: Brill, 1993), pp. 1–17; Michael Markowski, 'Crucesignatus: Its Origins and Early Usage', *Journal of Medieval History*, 10 (1984), 157–65; Christopher Tyerman, *The Invention of the Crusades* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998); Jonathan Riley-Smith, 'Rethinking the Crusades', *First Things* (March, 2000), 20–23; Giles Constable, 'The Historiography of the Crusades', in *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World*, ed. by Angeliki E. Laiou and Roy Parviz Mottahedeh (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 2001), pp. 1–22; William Urban, 'Rethinking the Crusades', *AHA Perspectives* (October, 1998); Felipe Fernández-Armesto, 'The Survival of a

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but also produced a fascinating and vibrant complex of cultural and intellectual exchanges between the Latin, Greek, and Muslim worlds, in the wake of the shifting political boundaries and allegiances which ensued, both in relation to the Muslim world, and to the Greek Orthodox world of the Byzantine Empire.[3] It is with these cultural exchanges that this volume is concerned, and its contributors share a belief in the value of investigating the expression and articulation, in a wide range of languages, registers and styles, of the records and traces of these exchanges.

It is in this context that Walter Benjamin's statement: 'there is no world of thought that is not a world of language and one sees of the world only what is provided for by language', can be applied.[4] In the multilingual culture of the medieval Mediterranean, that thought-world resembles a symphony composed of a wide and constantly shifting range of languages. Investigation of the interweaving discourses of the various vernacular and literate registers of the Mediterranean leads to a more complex and multilayered interpretation. Translation between different languages may be ultimately impossible but, in practical terms of communication between individuals, such an attempt is unavoidable, uncontrollable, and a source of great fruitfulness, giving rise to ranges of meaning and understanding, and to insights into new or reformulated cultural expression and identity. Comparison, the construction of identity through difference — indeed conversation of any kind — presupposes sufficient similarity between opposing groups to permit some common understanding, for the possibility of communication. The essays in this collection argue that Western European, Romance, Greek, and Muslim cultures of war and aristocratic ethics share a sufficient degree of similarity to make this communication possible.

Although, as Friedrich Schleiermacher said, 'every man is bound by the language he speaks',[5] nonetheless in a multilingual world of rapid and unpredictable

Notion of Reconquista in Late Tenth- and Eleventh-Century León', in *Warriors and Churchmen in the High Middle Ages: Essays Presented to Karl Leyser*, ed. by Timothy Reuter (London: Hambledon, 1992), pp. 123–43; Richard A. Fletcher, 'Reconquest and Crusade in Spain, *c.* 1050–1150', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, series 5, 37 (1987), 31–47.

[3] Excellent recent scholarship on these cultural exchanges, with extensive bibliography, can be found in *France and the Holy Land*, ed. by Daniel H. Weiss and Lisa Mahoney (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004).

[4] Walter Benjamin, 'Translation — For and Against', in Walter Benjamin, *Selected Writings*, ed. by Michael W. Jennings, Howard Eilings, and Gary Smith, trans. by Rodney Livingstone and others, 2 vols (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996–1999), II, 249–52.

[5] Friedrich Schleiermacher, 'On the Principles of Translation', in *German Romantic Criticism*, ed. by A. Leslie Wilson, trans. by André Lefevere (New York: Continuum, 1982), pp. 1–30.

political and cultural change, those bindings are more fragile, those borders more permeable. The extreme form of communication which we call translation was in the medieval Mediterranean an everyday occurrence. What Douglas Howland has termed the 'complex acts of communication [...] engaging the fact of deep and problematic relationships among forms of writing, idiomatic uses of language, variants of "register" that alert one to markers of class and gender, and structures of thought that give cultures their distinctive outlook'[6] are the subject of this collection.

In all the papers presented here, language is interrogated as a potential sign of religious or ethnic identity or of differential status, culture, or authority which operated with a variety of registers, intents, and truth-values. Latin, Greek, varieties of French and Arabic are considered, alongside the visual languages in which identities, religions, and political positions were articulated. This allows us to see how the complex shifting identities of the regions involved were constructed and expressed, and how these reformulated identities in turn gave rise to new literacies and languages.

We now live in an age of politicized and politicizing religions.[7] The current process of religious globalization encompasses not only the thread of specific religious and cultural identities but also a vigorous return to religious orientation, geographically or even locally defined. There has been in recent years a growing revival of cultural, social, ethnic, and religious consciousness. Often highly individualistic, this revival of sacrament and religion can be interpreted as a reaction to a perception of our world as 'global village'. Against such a background of growing politicization of religion, the burning question is what the globalization of world religions such as Christianity and Islam means for the potential for peace or conflict in the world. This very complex question cannot be satisfactorily answered simply by describing and explaining the intercultural and interreligious relationship between these two religions at the present time. Questioning readiness and conditions for peace and conflict within modern world religions also involves questioning historical patterns of peace and conflict. We cannot demolish our artificial constructions of cultural and religious prejudice without first analysing the historical processes of their construction and exploring the vast landscape of historical and literary behaviour in Christian–Islamic encounters.

[6] Douglas Howland, 'The Predicament of Ideas in Culture: Translation and Historiography', *History and Theory*, 42 (2003), 45–60.

[7] The two paragraphs which follow have been adapted from Matthias M. Tischler's paper, 'Manners of Literary Behaviour in Christian-Muslim Approaches', presented at the International Medieval Congress at Leeds, July 2004.

Once in contact with Islam, to what extent, and in what times and places, have Christians been ready for conflict or capable of peace, tolerance, and 'convivencia'? When, why, and to what degree has one position been preferred to the other? Is the widespread theory of a 'clash of civilizations/religions'[8] an adequate explanation of our close and complex experience of a history of intercultural and interreligious conflict?

As we consider these questions in a medieval context, we encounter the difficulty that, to a certain degree, modern scholarship has lacked theoretical reflection on the multiple contexts of medieval texts, their development, revisions, functions, and various audiences. The studies in this volume consider texts from many disciplines (theology, history, and literature), genres (letters, treatises, dialogues, chronicles, biographies, and poems), registers (learned, popular, real, and imaginary), and with different milieus of reception (scholars, noblemen, laymen, real or fictitious readers and listeners). The authors of the essays included here have striven to respect the different intellectual and religious milieus of authors, periods, and forms of production and reception of the texts which they discuss. We aim to look outside the group of conventional sources which have customarily been used to explain conflicts between cultures in terms of theology, ecclesiastical commands, and didactic, top-down communication from the literate to the military classes. Our intention is to extend consideration of relations between these groups into other areas of less legitimate or official communication as well as deepening our questioning of those elite literate materials to include textual and contextual problems, issues of translation, and the transfer of ideas within and between genres and registers.

* * *

The first section of this book considers how the Medieval West depicted Muslims and non-Latin Christians in vernacular and Latin literature. In the literature of the Medieval West, relations between political, confessional, and language groups in the Mediterranean area are dominated by the conflicts which became known as 'Crusades'.[9] In this literature, the Crusades became the focus of a totalizing discourse, colouring all relations between East and West, cultivating hostility, and polarizing relationships. Yet this literature also focuses on similarity

[8] As developed in Samuel Philipps Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996).

[9] The standard discussion of definitions for the term 'Crusade' is found in Riley-Smith, *What Were the Crusades?*

of interest and chivalric values, and the possibilities of assimilation or rejection of rival cultures. Ailes' article, the first in this section, considers a wide range of texts, while the remaining four essays each focus on a single text or group of texts, exploring its depiction of cultural interaction and exchange. Papers in this section articulate languages of difference, opposition, and hostility, through which we are enabled to read about identity politics. However, as the conversion motif found in the contributions of Ailes and Nicholson makes clear, identities can be complex and subtly shifting, not simply and always a clear binary opposition between two permanently divided religious groups. It becomes clear that each text, far from presenting the simplistic, one-dimensional view which we might expect, offers multilayered depictions of the 'Other', nuanced by a variety of considerations.

Ailes and Nicholson both explore issues of religious conversion between Islam and Latin Christianity in the *chansons de geste*. The discourse in these texts is one of nobility, loyalty, fidelity, chivalry, deep personal associations forged in battle, and the complexities of *Realpolitik* which make those apparently simple emotions contestable. These chivalric tales of *fidelitas* and *loiauté* reveal assumptions about the nature of Islamic culture which, as they interrogated the possible relationships between loyalty, criminality, and religious belief, the authors assumed to share many of its primary assumptions and models with Christian culture. Ailes explores the role of conversion as an aspect of honour culture, where 'infidel' heroes can be awarded respect when defeated. Difference is dealt with by destruction or by assimilation through conversion, and yet it is recognized that the 'infidel' hero may choose not to convert, and this view is respected even while it is regretted. As Ailes writes, 'the virtue of fidelity becomes at least as important as being faithful to the right God and the right cause'.

In her exploration of the role of personal relationships in transgressing religious and linguistic boundaries, Nicholson echoes the point made by Ailes that language is both reflexive and constitutive of society and culture. In *Florent et Octavien*, the exotic locations in which much of the action takes place seem at first to function as a backdrop for a story whose focus is gender rather than religious or ethnic conflict — however, this strange cultural milieu allows for an exploration of gender norms by creating a context in which norms and mores can be set aside and different modes of interaction can be imagined, ones less constrained by the customs of contemporary society. Nicholson suggests that this work can be read as an ironic attack on the conventional languages of chivalry and romance, and possibly on the conventions of the crusade cycle itself. Here, religion serves as a stand-in for longstanding and unexplained hostility of any kind: actual differences between Christianity and Islam are characterized only in their adherents' treatment of women. There is little sense of otherness in the

depiction of the Saracen and references to polygamy are the only approximations of actual features of Islamic culture. For the participants in this romance, it seems chivalry, faith, honour, are evenly divided between Christian and Muslim, and the popularly perceived gender and religious stereotypes of both cultures are mocked and overturned.

In Edgington's presentation of the *Jérusalem* episode of the Old French Crusade Cycle, war-craft, and chivalry are explored. As in Nicholson' analysis of *Florent*, so here, religious difference serves primarily as an unexplored reason for hostility. But in contrast, in this poem, gender is used either as one of the indicators of difference between Christians and Muslims or as a possible rationalization for hostility between them. The possibility of relationships between Christian and pagan men and women is repeatedly dismissed as though it were ordinarily unthinkable, and conceivable only in terms of capture or defeat — although historically conversion frequently occurred.[10] A deeper identity gulf seems to emerge between the chivalrous and the monstrous. In all of the texts explored in these three papers, we see little appreciation of substantive cultural difference. Instead, the aristocratic Christian and the Muslim appear to present a mirror image of each other. Courtly values, and even the paraphernalia of chivalry, are equally referenced on each side. There is no extensive representation of Islam except as a contradiction of Christian monotheism, no awareness of the contents of the Koran, or of the real political situation in the East.

Carol Sweetenham continues the examination of depictions of the First Crusade in her study of Robert the Monk's *History of the First Crusade* and the way in which difference and otherness are emphasized in this, one of the key Latin sources of the period. She demonstrates that Robert uses a wholly imagined

[10] See, for example: Michael Brett, 'Population and Conversion to Islam in Egypt in the Mediaeval Period', in *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras,* IV*: Proceedings of the 9th and 10th International Colloquium Organized at the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven in May 2000 and May 2001*, ed. by Urbain Vermeulen and Jo Van Steenburgen (Leuven: Peeters, 2005), pp. 1–32; L. P. Harvey, 'Religious Conversions in Medieval Spain', *Medieval World*, 8 (1993), 9–12; Nehemia Levtzion, 'Conversion to Islam in Syria and Palestine and the Survival of Christian Communities', in *Conversion and Continuity: Indigenous Christian Communities in Islamic Lands, Eighth to Eighteenth Centuries*, ed. by Michael Gervers and Ramzi Jibran Bikhazi (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1990), pp. 289–311; Speros Vryonis, Jr, 'The Experience of Christians under Seljuk and Ottoman Domination, Eleventh to Sixteenth Century', in *Conversion and Continuity*, ed. by Gervers and Bikhazi, pp. 185–216; Benjamin Z. Kedar, 'Multidirectional Conversion in the Frankish Levant', in *Varieties of Religious Conversion in the Middle Ages*, ed. by James Muldoon (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1997), pp. 190–208.

Islam to provide an external angle on Christian society, blurring fact and fiction even in an ostensibly 'historical' account. Robert's Saracens mirror Christian characteristics and behaviours and are co-opted in a complex commentary on the troubled papal politics of contemporary Rome.

From Robert's authoritative account of the Crusade in the elite and erudite Latin language we move to a vernacular text which appears to reflect less elite, more widely-held opinions, offering the possibility of tracing the development of images and ideas about crusading outside the learned Latin world. In an exploration of anthropomorphic animal fables, Lambert's examination of intersections between elements of the *Renart* cycle and the French and Latin literature of the crusades attempts to deal with a very deliberate use of the distorting mirror of translation/transposition. Lambert shows how words and motifs shift meaning or are denied meaning in their new locus, and how the *Renart* compilers play with the fragility of meaning through the mechanism of the Fox's foolish wisdom and transparent lies. In the anticlerical, antichivalric world of Renart, the purpose and meaning of crusading are called into question.

* * *

In the second section, Tougher, Harris, Paterson, Shawcross, and Ryder all deal with approaches to 'Greekness' and the Byzantine Empire, another key power-block of the medieval Mediterranean world. In exploring texts in a wide range of languages, Latin, Greek, and French, the possibilities of a Greek identity and its relations with Western Europe are viewed from a variety of standpoints. Together these papers argue for a highly nuanced view of 'the Other', accommodating a range of identity positions, articulated through different languages, genres, and registers. Shaun Tougher's paper considers the use of the eunuch by western historians as a symbolic signifier of Byzantine culture, and questions the extent to which this is relevant in the standard chronicles of the Crusades. He argues that these Latin and French histories require a more subtle reading, and modern historical assumptions about consistent or universalizing identities should be treated with scepticism. He finds that representations of national, religious, and ethnic identity are highly complex and multivalent.

Harris's contribution, in contrast, investigates the way in which deliberate misinformation was used to create just such arbitrary stereotypes of Byzantines for political ends. Portraying the Greeks as traitors to Christendom, but also as effeminate and corrupt, Latin authors distorted their sources to justify invasion. Harris investigates the importance of the Byzantine concept of *oikoumene* — that the emperor was the overlord of the whole Christian world — in structuring

Greek political relations with the wider Mediterranean world, and shows that the language of diplomacy in the Eastern Mediterranean was often mistranslated in the west, creating hostility and disdain.

In Paterson's study of a poem by Elias Cairel, careful dating and contextualization of the work pinpoints a moment of critical tension between Latins and Greeks, and a reiteration of the traditional charge of effeminacy or homosexuality often associated by western writers with schismatic religion, and already discussed by Harris. These ideas, translated into the idiom of southern French, can reveal insights into the relations between Greek and Latin cultures in the early thirteenth century.

Shawcross investigates later shifts in the identities of Latins and Greeks as revealed in the development of a new literary language, the Greek vernacular. In this language, identities were formulated around principals of chivalry, battlefield experience, emotional ties to land, and shared hostility to newer 'outsiders', be they Turkish, French, or Genoese. Linguistic change, even when it was regretted, could be represented as contributing to this shared identity, the 'imagined community' of the previously separate and even hostile Latins and Greeks. She describes how the narrative of the *Chronicle of Morea*, taken as a whole, carefully constructed a new identity in the principality, and reveals the importance of language in this process of construction. Shawcross shows that differences were marginalized in preference to a developing discourse of geographically derived commonality, focussed on local political figureheads.

This was a time of particular crisis in political and religious identities, when shifting alliances were transformed under the pressure of war and conquest. Ryder questions the often-expressed model of linguistic and religious polarization between Greeks and Latins, taking as her example the case of Demetrius Kydones, who wrote from the perspective of the restored Greek empire of the fourteenth century. Kydones, as an active translator of Latin theology into Greek, occupied a key role in this period's discussion of identity exchange and transfer. It has proved challenging for modern historians to position Kydones and his large body of writings in one or the other camp, which has sometimes lead to a distortion of his words. Kydones himself argued that Greeks and Latins could be understood as being of one mind, divided only by language (*tais phōnais*) and by a great geographic gulf, but united by one spirit or logos. Kydones is presented in this paper as both patriotic Byzantine subject and ecumenical believer, whose work sought to resolve the potential disjuncture between Greek and Latin identities.

* * *

The papers in the third section deal with the Muslim and Hebrew worlds in their relation with Latin religion and culture. Karen Mathews discusses the visual language of two architectures from very different roots in the literal 'translation' by Muslims of Latin/western monumental stonework. These artistic motifs in the form were appropriated and reused, wrenched out of context through capture, and then rearticulated as an artistic representation of jihad. This is an important element in the artistic rhetoric of the Mamluk rulers of Egypt and the Levant, particularly Baibars (ruled 1260–77) and Qalawun (1279–90). These rulers consistently represent themselves as leaders of jihad, despite repeated truces and some substantial periods of peace and cooperation between them and the remaining 'crusader' states, and important commercial relations with Frankish cities and the Italian republics. Mathews investigates this translation of architecture, and the ways in which rhetoric was carried into the visual sphere through such appropriations. Seeing that 'in this time period, people of all ethnicities and religious persuasions in the Eastern Mediterranean produced hybrid, multicultural artworks whose appeal transcended political boundaries and religious affiliations', this physical translation of captive art 'inserted the Mamluks into this international courtly environment, as an integral part of a network of multiethnic and influential rulers that extended from Western Europe to the Mongol Far East'.[11]

The remaining three papers in this section focus on the Iberian peninsula, which provides an excellent model for considering questions of Christian-Islamic and Christian-Judaic encounters.[12] South-western Europe forms a distinct geographical unit, whose history between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries was relatively independent from that of the rest of Europe. Positioned between Western and Central Europe and North Africa, this region formed an arena for continual cultural and religious contact, encounters, exchanges, and conflicts between Christians and Muslims throughout the Middle Ages. Here, we have the very rare opportunity of tracing the process of Christian nation-building via theoretical and practical conflict with the 'Other' religion — the case of a Christian society defining and constructing itself through defeating and destroying the former prevailing religion and culture.

Themes of conversion, as discussed in the context of vernacular fiction by Ailes and Nicholson, are continued in a very different literary context in Matthias

[11] See below, Mathews, p. 000.

[12] The following paragraph has been adapted from Matthias M. Tischler's 2004 paper, 'Manners of Literary Behaviour in Christian-Muslim Approaches'.

Tischler's work. He examines two examples of 'dialogue' between religions (Christianity and Islam), languages (Latin, French, and Arabic) and genres (Theology, History, and Epic). Ultimately, for Tischler, the authors of these dialogues are concerned with the displacement of one language by another through conversion. The assumed ontological roots of sacred language here mean that ideally only one speaker, only one word, should survive the textual combat. The defeat of language through appropriation is the ambition of both the *Pseudo-Turpin* author, working in the second quarter of the twelfth century, and the Toledan scholars who worked under Peter the Venerable in the Iberian Peninsula of the 1140s.

Translation between Arabic and Latin cultures is also the theme of Matthias Maser's analysis of Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada's *Historia Arabum*, composed in the 1240s while Rodrigo was archbishop of Toledo. He explores the way in which a translator's intention and programme transform the text in the process of translation. Maser shows that Rodrigo's determinist approach to the geographical integrity of 'Hispania' leads him to engage with a completely different historiographical tradition and cultural milieu — portraying Islamic history not simply as related to its impact on Christian states, but as having an independent historical tradition and trajectory of their own, outside the medieval framework of providential history. His choice of title, *Historia Arabum* rather than *Saracenorum* is highly significant, removing the work from the orbit of Isidorean etymological condemnation. Maser explores the contradictions inherent in bringing these two very different traditions together, and the translational techniques involved.

In another approach to the genre of fictive dialogue, Drews takes as the subject of his paper the process of creating a new literary and national identity in the work of Ramon Llull (1233–1315). Llull is widely regarded as the founder of literary Catalan, and as one of the first writers to try to translate genres of theology and philosophy into Catalan vernacular codes. Llull's position could be justly described as 'liminal' in many ways; geographically, linguistically, and professionally. His repeated attempts to deal with differences in language and religion through translation and conversion perhaps reflect this background. Llull's *Art* for establishing the common rational ground of the monotheistic faiths is analysed through Llull's attempts at imagining conversion dialogues with Jews. Drews finds a shift in emphasis during the course of Llull's career, from an irenic to a much more dogmatic approach, from dialogue, albeit fictive, to monologue, in which only one voice, one code, one language, was allowed to possess that rationality which Llull so prized. Thus his *Art* became an exercise in identity formation and defence, rather than the transformational tool which he had apparently hoped for earlier in life.

Llull's lack of success in finding that intellectual common ground which would allow ideas to be translated freely between languages, by minds seeking for a unifying truth, perhaps serves as a fitting postscript to a collection which has attempted to highlight the difficulties inherent in any communication across the barriers of language, religion, and culture. Such translation is always at best tentative, and often fails through its attempts to master rather than to understand. Derridean notions of *différance*[13] challenge the possibility of any effective communication, and many of the medieval authors under consideration are shown in these essays to have all but abandoned attempts at 'reading', in their enthusiasm to co-opt and rewrite words for their own purposes. However, others appear to have been feeling their way to new or transformed identities with common interests, which they attempted to express in more cooperative ways. Translation of ideas across many centuries is perhaps the hardest to achieve. These papers are a modest contribution to that exchange of ideas between truth-seeking minds.

[13] That is, the notion that the meaning of words is expressed through signifiers, but signifiers have meaning only through their relationship with each other and difference from each other.

Part I

Western Depictions of Saracens and Others in Latin and French Vernacular Writing

Tolerated Otherness: The 'Unconverted' Saracen in the *Chansons de geste*

Marianne Ailes

'From the *Song of Roland* through Byron and Flaubert,
Western Writers have demonized the Muslim World'.
Ziauddin Sardar, The Times*, 24 July 2004*

It is something of a truism to say that 'literary representations, both historiographical and poetic, reflect if not medieval reality, medieval mentality'.[1] However, literary sources need careful handling. One could be forgiven, on reading the *chansons de geste*, for thinking that the crusades were about conversion, so important is this as a theme in a number of the *chansons de gestes* (see Table 1), yet 'conversion by the sword' was contrary to canon law,[2] and some medieval writers argued that the crusades had nothing to do with conversion

[1] Yvonne Friedman, *Encounter between Enemies: Captivity and Ransom in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), p. 213.

[2] Benjamin Z. Kedar, 'Muslim Conversion in Canon Law', in Benjamin Z. Kedar, *The Franks in the Levant* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1993), article 19; repr. from *Proceedings of the Sixth International Conference of Medieval Canon Law, Berkeley 1980*, ed. by Stephan T. Kuttner and K. Pennington (Vatican City: Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, 1985), pp. 321–33 (pp. 328–29); Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* (London: Athlone, 1986), p. 53; James A. Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law and the Crusader* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), in particular p. 21, where Brundage notes that 'non-Christians should not be set upon violently, nor should they be coerced to accept baptism [...] against [Saracens'] force might be used since they were already persecuting Christians'.

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Table 1. *Chansons de geste* which include the conversion of Muslims

Text **(approximate date of composition)**	**Saracen(s)**	**Fate**
Chanson de Roland (1100)	Baligant Bramimonde Mass of pagans	Killed Converted 'par amur' Converted or killed
Fierabras (1200)	Fierabras Floripas Balan	Converted after combat Converted for love Refuses; killed
Huon de Bordeaux (first half 13th *c.*)	Esclarmonde Gaudisse Mass of pagans	Converted for love Refuses; killed Converted or killed
Simon de Puille (before 1250)	Sinadas Sabarrez (Simon le converti) 2 seamen Licorinde Jonas de Babilone 2 seamen	Converted Converted Converted Converted for love Escapes Refuse conversion
Prise de Cordes (early 13th *c.*)	Judas	Refuses; accidentally kills himself
Chanson de Jerusalem (12th *c.*)	Garsïen Ysabart Malcolon Cornumarant Marbrin	Converted Both refuse; imprisoned; released in prisoner exchange; later killed Refuses; released in prisoner exchange; later killed Taken prisoner; killed in single combat
Aliscans (late 12th *c.*)	Valegrape Bauduc Desrame	Refuses; killed Converted after combat Refuses; survives
Bataille Loquifer: Vulgate Arsenal/Boulogne (post-*Aliscans*)	Loquifer Desrame Desrame	Refuses; killed Killed Survives
Anseïs de Cartage (1250)	Marsile Bramimonde	Refuses for good reason; killed Converted
Aspremont (late 12th *c.*)	Agoland Balan Florence	Refuses for good reason Converted Converted, then married to a Christian
Entrée en Espagne (early 14th *c.*)	Ysoré	Does not convert
Prise de Pampelune (post 1350)	Ysoré Maozéris Altmajour	Converted Refuses; escapes Converted reneges
Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle (1140, earliest O.Fr text 1159–1205)	Aigolandus Fernagu Marsile	Nearly converts Nearly converts Killed
La Chevalerie Ogier (early 13th *c.*)	Karaheus	Refuses; spared

at all.[3] Conversion figures in the propaganda as early as Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153); in a letter concerning an armed excursion to the 'idolatrous tribes to the East of the Saxons and Moravians' (the heathen Slavs of Germany's Baltic coast)[4] he wrote of taking vengeance on the pagans and wiping [them] out from Christian lands. Later in the same letter he forbids that 'a truce should be made with these people [...] until such time as, by God's help, they shall be either converted or wiped out'.[5] Yet in the following century, Pope Innocent IV (1243–54), directly stated that conversion was not one of the aims of the war and stressed that conversion must be as a result of a free decision.[6]

In reality, both sides distrusted converts.[7] In the early fourteenth century, Jean de Joinville famously described the reluctant offer of conversion made by the Muslims to their Christian prisoners.[8] Yvonne Friedman, in her study of the

[3] The issue over whether wars of conversion were just was an active one for the early crusaders. On the legal issues relating to conversion see, Kedar, 'Muslim Conversion'; see also Jonathan Riley-Smith, *What Were the Crusades?* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), pp. 18–21; efforts to convert by persuasion persisted throughout the period of the crusades, see Penny J. Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land, 1095–1270* (Cambridge, MA: Medieval Academy of America, 1991), p. 187.

[4] St Bernard of Clairvaux, *Letters*, trans. by Bruno Scott James (London: Burns Oates, 1953; repr. with new introduction by Beverly Mayne Kienzle, Stroud: Sutton, 1998), letter 394 (pp. 466–67); Latin text in *Sancti Bernardi opera*, ed. by Jean Leclercq, C. H. Talbot, and H. M. Rochais, 8 vols (Roma: Cistercienses, 1957–77), VII (1974)–VIII (1977), letter 457.

[5] Bernard of Clairvaux, *Letters*, letter 394 (*Sancti Bernardi opera*, letter 457). This could be contrasted with the Islamic perspective which insisted that captives should be offered conversion before being killed, see Friedman, *Encounter between Enemies*, p. 137. On forced conversions in literature, see Paul Bancourt, *Les Musulmans dans les chansons de geste du Cycle du Roi*, 2 vols (Aix-en-Provence: Université de Provence, 1982), pp. 499–505.

[6] '*Apparatus super quinque libros Decretalium*', in Kedar, 'Muslim Conversion', p. 329; see also Riley-Smith, *What were the Crusades?*, p. 11.

[7] Friedman, *Encounter between Enemies*, pp. 138–47; Joinville recounts a conversation between himself and his Saracen captor regarding the Christians who have reneged; Joinville warns the Saracen that 'as they had left our side so would they leave his' (Jean de Joinville and Geoffroi de Villehardouin, *Chronicles of the Crusade*, trans. by M. R. B. Shaw (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1963), p. 246). For the Old French text, see Jean de Joinville, *Vie de Saint Louis*, ed. by Jacques Monfrin, Classiques Garnier (Paris: Bordas, 1998), para. 331, pp. 162–63.

[8] Joinville tells of Christian prisoners being divided into two groups: 'Many of the knights and other people were kept inside a courtyard enclosed by mud walls. The custom of our enemies was to take them one by one and ask them: "Are you willing to abjure your faith?" Those who refused to abjure were set on one side and their heads cut off; those who consented were kept on the other side': Joinville and Villehardouin, *Chronicles of the Crusade*, p. 246; Joinville, *Vie de Saint Louis*, para 334, pp. 164–65.

treatment of captives in the crusades, cites examples from Joinville and from Arab historians showing that renegades were viewed as traitors.[9] If group identity can never be satisfactorily defined without reference to the outsider, the 'Other', then the 'self' or 'us' of the *chansons de geste* is Christian and is defined in part by reference to the Saracen 'Other'. However, this binary opposition was never as simple as the quotation from Ziauddin Sardar which heads this chapter suggests. From the earliest *chansons de geste* there are those who are part of the Christian community who betray their own, and there are pagans who 'would have been noble if only they were Christian'.[10]

Postcolonial discourse has in recent years contributed considerably to our understanding and articulation of the construct of the racial or religious 'Other' in medieval texts and in particular to a more sophisticated awareness of what Siobhan Bly Calkin has referred to as the 'interplay of sameness, differentiation, and difference'.[11] The concern of most such studies has been with the process of suppression of difference, whether by conversion or annihilation, rather than any possibility of allowing the 'Other' to coexist with the Self.[12] Certainly, the simplest way of dealing with difference and restoring clear-cut identity is by execution/defeat in battle. Thus, in the earliest extant *chanson de geste*, the *Chanson de Roland* (composed *c*. 1100), both the traitor and the pagans are annihilated: Ganelon, the Christian traitor, is executed, restoring the integrity of the Christian group, and the Saracens, however worthy, are, for the most part, killed in battle or single combat, the devils taking their souls off to Hell. Their defeat proves that right is might (but not vice versa) — and that the Christian God is right.

[9] Friedman, *Encounter between Enemies*, pp. 138–47.

[10] *La Chanson de Roland*, ed. by Frederick Whitehead, with introduction and notes by T. D. Hemming (Bristol: Bristol Classical Texts, 1993); trans. by Glyn Burgess, *The Song of Roland* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1990); see ll. 899, 3164.

[11] Siobhain Bly Calkin, *Saracens and the Making of English Identity: The Auchinleck Manuscript* (London: Routledge, 2005), p. 10.

[12] See, for example, Sharon Kinoshita, *Medieval Boundaries: Rethinking Difference in Old French Literature* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006); see also, Sylvia Huot, *Postcolonial Fictions in the Roman de Perceforest: Cultural Identities and Hybridities* (Cambridge: Brewer, 2006), and Sylvia Huot, 'Others and Alterity', in *The Cambridge Companion to Medieval French Literature*, ed. by Simon Gaunt and Sarah Kay (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 238–50. Huot is largely concerned with romance texts; in 'Others and Alterity' she discusses the thirteenth-century prose *Tristan*, in which it is clear that the noble Saracen Palamedes cannot be integrated into Arthur's court without conversion, and that he remains something of an outsider even after his conversion, not instantly recognized by the knights of the Round Table; see esp. p. 248.

The alternative to execution, to restore the integrity of the group, is assimilation by conversion. However, the texts do not offer us as simple a picture as one might expect; conversion is a theme, yet even the *Chanson de Roland*, with its black and white view that 'the Pagans are wrong and Christians are right' (1. 1015) indicates something of the ambivalence found in more 'official' writings. There is no question that the listener is assumed to identify with the 'Christian French' not the Saracens. Yet there is also admiration for those Saracens 'who would have been noble had they only been Christian' (l. 3164). Less clear is the treatment of those who convert, and indeed those who do not convert:

> Meinent paien entresqu'al baptisterie.
> S'or i ad cel qui Carle cuntredie,
> Il le fait pendre o ardeir ou ocire.
> Baptizét sunt asez plus de .c. milie
> Veir chrestïen, ne mais sul la reine;
> En France dulce iert menee caitive:
> Ço voelt li reis, par amur cunvertisset.(ll. 3668–74)

> (If there is anyone who withstands Charles, | He has him hanged or burned or put to death. | More than a hundred thousand are baptized | True Christians, with the exception of the queen. | She will be taken as a captive to fair France; | The king wishes her to become a convert through love.)

Commentators have been troubled by this insistence on the fact that the new converts are 'veir chrestïen', true Christians, followed by the very different conversion of the queen 'par amur', through love.[13] Is the poet suggesting that those converted by force are not 'true Christians'? That is unlikely; irony is not generally considered one of the tools in the armoury of the *chanson de geste*. However, the insistence on the converts being 'veir chrestïen' suggests that the poet expects some in his audience to disagree and to doubt the validity of this conversion, and opens the possibility of a reading which resists the conventional, and which would be in keeping with both the official disapproval of forced conversion and the distrust of those who did convert, as discussed above. Those who do not convert are 'hanged or burnt or put to death'. Perhaps this is what we expect in medieval texts: otherness is not tolerated; those with whom we are invited to identify, the Christians, are right, others are wrong, and therefore those who will not be assimilated, through conversion, are disposed of. Yet it

[13] Wolfgang G. van Emden, *La Chanson de Roland* (London: Grant and Cutler, 1995), p. 91; Marianne J. Ailes, *The Song of Roland — On Absolutes and Relative Values* (Lampeter: Mellen, 2002), pp. 127, 144.

is clear that there is, even in the *Chanson de Roland*, an indication that not everyone might agree with the 'convert or be killed' choice. The implication in the *Chanson de Roland* is that all who are 'hanged or burnt or put to death' have been offered conversion, although the masses of pagans are generally not differentiated. Defeat is followed by death or conversion and the offer of the latter is left implicit, with little focus on the Saracen army or, in some texts, townspeople, as a whole. We see conversion being offered and accepted or refused only by men (and occasionally women) of high status. Those who do convert have received some critical attention. Less attention has been given to those who refuse conversion.[14] Yet these high status Saracens who refuse to conform, refuse to convert, the 'unconverted', are not all treated in the same way. So — who are the unconverted Saracens of the *chanson de geste*? How are they treated? What level of tolerance is there? What response is there to these unconverted Saracens?

In the late twelfth-century *chanson de geste Fierabras*, as in the *Chanson de Roland*, we find a relatively straightforward lack of tolerance towards the 'Other'. Here Fierabras, the only noble Saracen in this text, converts; defeated in combat by Oliver and, taking this as a sign of the superiority of the Christian God, Fierabras asks for baptism.[15] His sister, Floripas, the archetypal '*belle sarrasine*',[16]

[14] Marianne J. Ailes, 'Chivalry and Conversion: The Chivalrous Saracen in the *chansons de geste Fierabras* and *Otinel*', *Al-Masaq*, 9 (1996–97), 1–21; see Bancourt, *Les Musulmans dans les chansons de geste*, pp. 494–558, on the conversion of Saracens; here, pp. 540–43 deals with Balan's failed baptism, and pp. 543–49 with the refusal to convert.

[15] *Fierabras*, ed. by Marc Le Person, Classiques français du moyen âge, 142 (Paris: Champion, 2003). Marianne J. Ailes, 'Faith in *Fierabras*', in *Charlemagne in the North: Proceedings of the Twelfth International Congress of the Société Rencesvals*, ed. by Philip E. Bennett, Anne Elizabeth Cobby, and Graham A. Runnalls (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1991), pp. 126–33; Ailes, 'Chivalry and Conversion'; Norman Daniel, *Heroes and Saracens: An Interpretation of the chanson de geste* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1984). Daniel sees a common chivalry as overriding issues of faith and, indeed, leading to faith, see especially pp. 33–46; my perspective is rather that the nobility of the Saracen is an indicator to the reader/listener that this Saracen can be and will be redeemed; Daniel also refers to this as foreshadowing conversion.

[16] The beautiful *belle sarrasine* who converts for love of a Christian has been recognized as a type since the earliest criticism (see William Wister Comfort, 'The Character Types in the Old French *chansons de geste*', *PMLA*, 55 (1940), 628–59) and has been the subject of numerous studies; see, among others, Bancourt, *Les Musulmans dans les chansons de geste*, pp. 54–58, 575–79; Jacqueline de Weever, *Sheba's Daughters: Whitening and Demonizing the Saracen Woman in Medieval French Epic* (New York: Garland, 1998); Sarah Kay, *The Chansons de geste in the Age of Romance: Political Fictions* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), pp. 30–48; Philip E. Bennett, 'The Storming of the Other World: The Enamoured Muslim Princess and the Evolution of the Legend of Guillaume d'Orange', in *Guillaume d'Orange and the Chanson de Geste: Essays*

falls in love with Gui de Bourgogne, and baptism is part of the package, part of the assimilation into Western society along with her marriage. Their father, Balan, comes close to baptism. He is led to the font, but desecrates it by spitting into it and striking the bishop; Fierabras pleads with him unsuccessfully; Floripas tells Charlemagne to dispatch him at once and he is summarily executed. There is no indication that he has a right to remain in his faith, or that there could possibly be anything noble in such faithfulness. Philippe Ménard and Marc Le Person have even seen Balan as something of a comic figure.[17] This text shows no acceptance of the 'Other'. Saracens are either converted or killed. *Huon de Bordeaux*, among other texts, shares the same attitude.

However, not all texts show so little respect for defeated Saracens. Jonas of Babylone, in *Simon de Puille*, escapes from the battlefield with his life and no more is heard of him.[18] This is no doubt much closer to the reality of war. Interestingly Denis Conlon, the text's most recent editor, suggests that the text shows 'a knowledge of the East based on the author's own experience or culled at second hand from some pilgrim or crusader who had visited the Holy Land'.[19] Conlon's comments are based on the topography of the text which is set partly in Jerusalem and the Middle East, but the more realistic presentation of what happens in defeat may also be a reflection of a more accurate knowledge of what actually happened, the author drawing upon his own knowledge as well as upon literary constructs. Less realistic is the response of Judas, king of Seville, in the *Prise de Cordres et de Sebille*, who is so convinced that he is in the right that, in a scene which recalls the temptation of Christ in the wilderness, he throws himself from the battlements expecting to be caught and preserved from death by his god.[20]

presented to Duncan McMillan, ed. by Philip E. Bennett and Wolfgang G. van Emden (Reading: Société Rencesvals, 1984), pp. 1–14; on Floripas, see Hans-Erich Keller, 'La Belle sarrasine dans *Fierabras* et ses derivés', in *Charlemagne in the North*, ed. by Bennett, Cobby, and Runnalls, pp. 299–307. See also Helen Nicholson's article in this volume.

[17] Philippe Ménard, *Le Rire et le sourire dans le roman courtois en France au moyen âge (1150–1250)* (Genève: Droz, 1969), p. 86; Marc Le Person, 'Le Rire et le sourire dans la *Destruction de Rome* et *Fierabras*', in *Miscellanea Mediaevalia: Mélanges offertes à Philippe Ménard*, 2 vols (Paris: Champion, 1998), II, 897–915.

[18] *Simon de Pouille*, ed. by Denis J. Conlon, Studien und Dokumente zur Geschichte der romanischer Literaturen, 17 (New York: Lang, 1987); *Simon de Pouille: Chanson de geste, éditée d'après le manuscript no. 4780 de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, ed. by Jeanne Baroin, Textes littéraires de France, 149 (Genève: Droz, 1968).

[19] *Simon de Pouille*, ed. by Conlon, p. 25.

[20] *La Prise de Cordres et de Sebille*, ed. by Ovide Densusianu, Société des anciens textes français (Paris: Didot, 1896).

In fact he simply hurtles to his death. There is still here little tolerance for the enemy in the sense of accepting that the enemy has the right to hold wrong ideas and yet to live. The scene parodies Christ's temptation in a way that highlights the foolishness of Judas for believing in false gods.

The loosely historically-based *Chanson de Jérusalem*[21] shows us a different attitude altogether. Cornumarant, the son of the Saracen king of Jerusalem, Corbadas, is depicted as a noble and trustworthy Saracen.[22] He is taken prisoner by Baldwin of Beauvais. What follows is closer to the reality of crusading warfare than what we have seen in the *Prise de Cordes* or *Fierabras*: Cornumarant is released in an exchange of prisoners (l. 6442). This pragmatic approach to the defeated and captured enemy is a reflection of historical reality: a prisoner was kept if he was valuable, if he could be ransomed or exchanged for another prisoner of equal rank.[23] Cornumarant is in the end killed by Baldwin in a later battle (l. 9299) — but he is shown great honour; Baldwin has his heart exposed and all are amazed at its size (ll. 9858–75).[24] There is nothing but admiration for Cornumarant — he is not forced to convert, nor executed as a prisoner — but the poet does not allow him to continue to live and continue to pose a threat. His death is honourable — but he does die. In the same poem two other Saracens, Ysabart, and Malcolon, refuse conversion and are finally released in exchange for sixteen other prisoners and a ransom. Like Cornumarant, they are later killed. This poet reflects reality more closely than most *chansons de geste* in the way captured Saracens are treated,[25] but although there is admiration there is little real tolerance. The 'Other' cannot be allowed to live if he continues to present a threat.

Conversion in these texts, as, no doubt, in reality, could complicate matters by introducing a conflict of interest. Thus, in *Aliscans* (a late twelfth-century text incorporating a re-working of the material from the non-cyclical *Guillaume d'Orange*), the converted Saracen Rainouart (brother of Orable-Guibourc, wife

[21] *La Chanson de Jérusalem*, ed. by Nigel R. Thorp, The Old French Crusade Cycle, 6 (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1992).

[22] Jean Subrenat, 'Un Héros épique païen admiré des Chrétiens: Cornumarant dans *La Conquête de Jérusalem*', *Pris-MA: Recherches sur la littérature d'imagination au moyen âge*, 9 (1993), 245–53. On Cornumarant, see also the discussion in Susan Edgington's article in this volume.

[23] Friedman, *Encounter between Enemies*, pp. 41–47 and 75–88, traces the change in attitude among the crusaders, who were at first reluctant to ransom their comrades.

[24] A similar phenomenon is described in *Raoul de Cambrai*, ed. by Sarah Kay (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), ll. 3060–67.

[25] Friedman, *Encounter between Enemies*, pp. 186–211, examines the keeping of valuable prisoners for ransom or exchange.

of Guillaume d'Orange) encounters in battle his cousin, Aenré.[26] Rainouart declares he will kill even his own father if he refuses to convert (*laisse* CXIV). Later he meets with his brother, Valagrape. In the middle of battle Rainouart proposes to Valegrape that he should convert; the latter refuses and, eventually, after exhortations on both sides, Valegrape is killed (*laisses* CXXX–CXLV). Although Valegrape's refusal to convert ends, ultimately, in his death, the whole exchange reveals the unease with which both sides viewed converts and the dilemma of divided loyalties which arose as a result of conversion. Being required to kill members of one's own kin was as stiff a test of loyalty as the poet could have devised. The vassal–lord hierarchy of medieval society depended on faithfulness, assuming of course that one was faithful to the true God and to one's rightful lord and family, but many *chansons de geste* deal with the problems which arise when faithfulness to one meant turning against the other.[27] In these tales of conversion, loyalty to the true God is more important than loyalty to one's kin and lord. Converts, in turning to the Christian God, had consequently to be unfaithful to their lord and their family. We have noted above the conflicting reactions of Floripas and Fierabras to their father's refusal to be baptized. Their different attitudes suggest at the very least an awareness of this issue on the part of the poet. In *Aliscans*, Rainouart urges conversion on his kin, but the Saracens, whose cultural values are not dissimilar to those of the Christians, are shocked by his lack of respect for his family and particularly by his statement that he would be willing to kill his own father if he refused conversion.[28] Although Rainouart does kill his brother in the end, it is with sorrow. Rainouart does also meet in combat his father Desramé, who calls on him to return to faith in 'Mohamet'. Their combat is interrupted and Desramé escapes by boat. The poet stops short of having Rainouart prove his loyalty to Christianity by having to fulfil his declared readiness to kill his own father.

Desramé, then, is allowed to live, unconverted; he survives to re-appear in *La Bataille Loquifer* where he is engaged in a typical *chanson de geste* 'Christian ver-

[26] *Aliscans*, ed. by Claude Régnier, Classiques français du moyen âge, 110–111, 2 vols (Paris: Champion, 1990).

[27] For example, in the *Chanson de Roland*, members of Ganelon's kin who stand by him are killed with him.

[28] This awareness that converts are also traitors is clear in *La Bataille Loquifer*, in which Loquifer, exchanging insults with Rainouart, exclaims that 'n'iere traïtor en tretot mon aé' ('never in my life would I be a traitor', l. 1539): *La Bataille Loquifer*, ed. by Monica Barnet, Medium Ævum Monographs, n.s., 6 (Oxford: Blackwell, 1975); see also the treatment of the *belle sarrasine* as traitor in Weever, pp. 111–47.

sus pagan' combat with Guillaume. In the so-called 'Vulgate' version of *Loquifer* both men fight bravely ('Grans fu l'estor et longuement dura', l. 3394), Guillaume trusting in God (l. 3383) and with His name on his lips (*Se Deu plaist*, l. 3405); he finally defeats and kills Déramé, beheading him. The body is taken to his son and daughter 'que il forment ama' (l. 3433), but although this familial affection is evoked Rainouart treats his father's body with little respect, throwing it into a ditch unceremoniously, and casting the head into the sea where it causes great storms (*laisse* LXVIII).[29] All this is standard fare — there is not much tolerated otherness here. Déramé, the Saracen who refuses conversion, is killed. However, two manuscripts offer a different narrative. In the Arsenal and Boulogne manuscripts,[30] Déramé is not killed, but only wounded by Guillaume and left for dead for 'ausi con mort esta' (l. 3368), only to be carried off by a big bird and left to re-appear in yet another sequel, *Foucon de Candie*.

The most likely explanation for this is connected with the formation of cycles. If the 'Vulgate' is, as is probable, the older version, then it would be reasonable to suppose that Déramé was left alive in a re-worked version to allow the existence of a sequel.[31] The survival of the Saracen is more a case of narrative convenience than anything else — though it is again interesting that the poet avoids having Desramé killed by his son; it is his son-in-law Guillaume who defeats him. While it is laudable to convert, the consequent need to kill your unconverted kin also causes tension; on the whole our poets avoid having converted sons kill their unconverted fathers, though they are happy to exploit the dramatic opportunities of having them meet in battle or even single combat.

Several vernacular texts showing varying degrees of tolerance draw upon the *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle*, which was well known in both Latin and the vernacular.[32] It was first written in Latin around 1140, but several translations were also produced in French. It drew upon *chanson de geste* material, which it

[29] Ronald G. Koss, *Family, Kinship and Lineage in the 'Cycle de Guillaume d'Orange'*, Studies in Mediaeval Literature, 5 (Lampeter: Mellen, 1990), p. 176.

[30] Graindor de Brie, *La Bataille Loquifer, édition critique d'après les manuscrits de l'Arsenal et de Boulogne*, ed. by J. Runeberg, Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae, 38.2 (Helsinki: Société de Littérature finnoise, 1913).

[31] Madeleine Tyssens, *La Geste de Guillaume d'Orange dans les manuscrits cycliques*, Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège, 178 (Paris: Belles-Lettres, 1967).

[32] Latin text: *Historia Karoli Magni et Rothlandi*, ed. by C. Meredith Jones (Paris: Droz, 1936; repr. Genève: Droz, 1972); there are several Old French translations: *The Old French Johannis Translation of the Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle: A Critical Edition*, ed. by Ronald N. Walpole (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976) (quoted here; translations are my own);

presented as fact. *Chansons de geste* in turn exploited the narrative of the *Pseudo-Turpin*.[33] A key episode for us is the baptism *manqué* of the Saracen leader Aigolandus. Having been defeated he agrees to being baptized:

> El demain vers tierce, si com li trive estoit donee de venir et d'aler, vint Agolant au tref Charle por baptisier, lui et sa gent. Il trova Charle seant au mangier et vit molt de tables mises entor lui et molt de seanz [...]. Entre cez choses esgarda Agolant d'autre part et vit lonc .xii. povres seant a terre, povrement vestuz, sanz nape et sanz table, pou pain et poi a boivre devant els. Agolant demanda quel gent c'estoient. Charles li dist, 'Ce sunt message Nostre Seignor Jhesu Crist que nos peissons chascun jor el non des xii apostres'. Adonc li dist Agolant, [...] 'Mauveisment aime son Seignor qui si vilment et si laidement reçoit son message; grant vergoigne et grant honte li fait. Ta loi que tu diz estre bone demostres tu estre fause, et je refus le baptesme dorenavant, car je ne voi mie en toi droites oeuvres selonc le baptesme'. Maintenant s'en repaira a l'ost et manda a Charle a l'andemain bataille.[34]
>
> (The next day at the hour of terce as had been agreed under the truce, Agolant came to Charlemagne's tent to be baptized, along with his men; he found Charlemagne seated at table and noticed the many tables and many seats [...]. Among other things he saw thirteen paupers, seated apart, on the ground, without a table and with little to eat or drink. Agolant asked who they were. Charlemagne said, 'They are the messengers of our Lord whom we feed every day in the name of the twelve apostles'. Then said Agoland, 'You must love your Lord little when you receive his messengers in so vile and horrible way; you bring him great shame and dishonour. You show that your religion, which you claim to be good, is false and I now refuse baptism for I do not see in you good works, according to baptism'. Then he returns to his army and asks Charlemagne for battle the next day.)

Aigolandus lives to fight another day — but is in the end killed in battle. This episode points to a lack of Christian charity and the Christians come out of it rather badly; the episode does not actually criticize the principles of Christianity, but the way it is practised. *Anseïs de Cartage* borrows and transforms this

The Anglo-Norman Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle of William de Briane, ed. by Ian Short, Anglo-Norman Text Society, 25 (Oxford: Blackwell, 1973).

[33] Joseph Bédier, *Les Légendes épiques*, 3rd edn, 4 vols (Paris: Champion, 1916–26), III (1926), pp. 115–51, lists a number of texts which use the *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle*. *Fierabras* can be added to this list — see Marianne J. Ailes, 'From Epic to Chronicle and Back: The *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle* and the *Chanson de Geste Fierabras*', in *Thirty Years of Medieval Studies at the University of Reading, 1965–95: A Celebration*, ed. by Anne Curry (Reading: Graduate Centre for Medieval Studies, 1995), pp. 17–24.

[34] *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle*, ed. by Walpole, paragraph XXIX, p. 148.

episode.[35] In *Anseïs*, it is Marsile who is about to baptized, who asks Charlemagne about the poor men, and is shocked at the answer. However, Marsile is treated differently from Aigolandus. Charlemagne sends bishops to reason with Marsile, who remains obdurate, and Charlemagne in a rage has him executed. Again the Christians do not come out of this too well: they show a lack of Christian charity and Charlemagne kills in a rage. In both the *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle* and *Anseïs de Cartage* the Saracen who refuses baptism does so with good cause, but in both he still ends up dead — the 'Other' cannot be allowed to pose a real threat. We find a similar situation in the thirteenth-century *chanson de geste Aspremont*, which also draws upon the *Pseudo-Turpin*.[36]

Two Franco–Italian texts, the *Entree en Espagne* and the *Prise de Pampelune*, continue this theme. They belong together, the *Prise* having been composed as the sequel to the *Entree*,[37] and feature two important Saracens, father and son, Maozéris (or Malgeris), and Ysoré. In the *Entree en Espagne*, Ysoré figures as a noble Saracen, one of those who, for Paul Bancourt in his major study of Muslims in the *cycle du roi*, indicate a growing sense that the two sides share the same chivalric ethos.[38] The father, however, is not to be trusted. When Ysoré is taken prisoner he is not forced to convert; rather, and more in keeping with actual practice, a prisoner exchange is arranged (ll. 6182–6205); Ysoré is to be exchanged for Estout, who has been taken by the Saracens.[39] Ysoré, trusted by Charlemagne and treated as a friend by Roland, acts as his own messenger and returns to his father to arrange the release of Estout. His father, however, wants to keep his son, without releasing the Christian; Ysoré threatens to return to the Christians if his word is not kept, and in the end his mother intervenes with the common sense

[35] 'A Critical Edition of *Anseïs de Cartage*', ed. by Alexander Kerr (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Reading, 1984); see the introduction of this edition for an analysis of the way *Anseïs de Cartage* uses the *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle*.

[36] *La Chanson d'Aspremont*, ed. by Louis Brandin, Classiques français du moyen âge, 19, 25, 2 vols (Paris: Champion, 1923–24); trans. as *The Song of Aspremont*, trans. by Michael A. Newth, Garland Library of Medieval Literature, 61 (New York: Garland, 1989).

[37] *Entree d'Espagne: Chanson de geste franco-italienne, publiée d'après le manuscrit unique de Venise*, ed. by Antoine Thomas, Société des anciens textes français (Paris: Didot, 1913). *La Prise de Pampelune: Ein altfranzörisches Gedicht aus venezianischen Handschriften*, ed. by Adolf Mussafia (Wien: Gerold's Sohn, 1864); the *Entree* gives the *Pseudo-Turpin* as its source (ll. 47–53).

[38] Bancourt, *Les Musulmans dans les chansons de geste*: on the noble Saracen see pp. 326–40; on p. 566 Bancourt writes of a syncretism between Islam and Christianity in the *Entrée en Espagne*, but this is a syncretism by Muslims; Christians do not compromise in their religion, however willing they may be to deal with, and even fight for, Saracens.

[39] Friedman, *Encounter between Enemies*, pp. 147–57.

that is so characteristic of mothers in the *chanson de geste* and Maozéris fulfils his side of the bargain. Ysoré throughout acts very correctly and chivalrously, but does not convert and is not forced to. His father, although depicted as a very human parent, suffering at the capture of his son, behaves treacherously and is untrustworthy. If this shows, as Bancourt suggests, that both sides acknowledge the chivalry of the 'Other' it is, on the part of the Saracens, a very limited chivalry, in that Ysoré is shown as an exceptional character. Ysoré seems rather to belong to the same character type as Fierabras: a noble Saracen whose very nobility suggests that he will convert. Although he does not do so in the *Entree en Espagne* itself it is no surprise that a sequel is written which fulfils this.

In the *Prise de Pampelune* the characters of both Ysoré and Maozéris are developments of the characters already established in the *Entree en Espagne*. In the *Prise*, Ysoré and his father Maozéris both agree to be baptized, following the fall of Pamplona — Maozéris's agreement to baptism being conditional on being admitted to the fellowship of the twelve peers (ll. 501–04). The peers, however, will not agree to this, as one of their number would have to 'isir de l'ourdre', to leave their fellowship (l. 547). Maozéris is, nonetheless, persuaded to be baptized the following morning. Charlemagne fêtes his distinguished would-be converts and Ysoré and Maozéris retire to the same bedchamber. Maozéris, disturbed by Roland's refusal to admit him as a 'conpagnon' (l. 619), and tormented by feelings of guilt about betraying his gods, cannot sleep:

> Entra roi Maoçeris, que maint suspir jetoit
> Pour ce que à compeignon Rolland le refusoit :
> Bien disoit entre soi que ancor se venjeroit [...]
> Ne cuidant qu'aucun home oïst ce qu'il disoit:
> 'Ay las moi!' fesoit il 'ceitis e maleoit!
> Quant guerpi ay me diés, l'en tuer me devroit.
> Si ay guerpi mien sire' (ll. 617–19, 629–32)

> (King Maozeris entered, sighing deeply since Roland refused to have him as companion. He said to himself that he would have vengeance [...] Not thinking that anyone could hear what he said 'Alas', he said, 'miserable and unfortunate one! Since I have abandoned my gods I should be killed; and I have abandoned my lord'.)

In the end Maozéris determines to leave and return to the pagans and to his lord Marsile — but he realizes that if he leaves his son Ysoré will do a great deal of harm to the pagans. He decided he must kill his own son, but he cannot bring himself to do so. The poet, using monologue, gives us all of this from Maozéris's perspective. He wants to kill him, turns away unable to do so, turns back at the door to kill him, and again turns away, unable to carry out such a terrible deed.

The poet shows Maozéris's great affection for his son: 'Le cuer li entendri' (his heart was tender towards him: l. 712); 'Lour le esgarda le pere, plerant des yeus dou fron' (his father regarded him, the tears pouring down his face: l. 723).There is a strong sense that such infanticide would be an unforgivable sin. Maozeris himself says that neither Jesus nor 'Mohamet' would be able to forgive him. Finally he makes his escape, in tears. The poet now uses very negative terms to describe him — he is 'le faus roi desloial' (l. 757), 'le paien criminal' (l. 758), 'felon sedutour' (l. 841). He prays to 'Mahomet' that his son will follow — but Ysoré remains faithful to the Christian God and to Charlemagne. A series of adventures follow, including Ysoré meeting his father in combat. Maozéris escapes several times from the Christians, twice escaping through woods, for he knows the woods of Spain better than anyone. During the various battles that follow he is castigated by one warrior for having renounced both Jesus and 'Mohamet' in one day — again the problem of competing loyalties is paramount.

The attitude of the poet to Ysoré, the converted Saracen, is straightforward approval. There is some suggestion too, given that in this sequel the unconverted noble Saracen is converted, that it was not possible to leave a noble Saracen as the enemy; he has to be assimilated. The poet's attitude to Maozéris, who refuses conversion and lives to fight another day, is less clear-cut. He is depicted as a loving father, a vassal with a genuine bond with his lord Marsile — one who wants to be a good vassal. This is very different from the summary execution of Balan in *Fierabras*. Yet the poet calls him a 'roi traïtour' — a traitor because, having once converted, he reneges. A traitor is normally treacherous to his king; in this case he betrays both God and Charlemagne and therefore can be presented as a traitor despite being himself a king. He remains other — not converted — but very human, and in the strength of his familial bonds and desire to be loyal to his lord he fulfils many of the ideals of the Christian knights.

Like *Anseïs de Cartage* and *Aspremont*, the *Entree en Espagne*, and *Prise de Pampelune* show evidence of knowing the *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle*, and their more human depiction of the Saracen who refuses to convert may owe much to the anonymous 'chronicler'. One significant text remains to be examined, the *Chevalerie Ogier*.[40] Here the hero, Ogier, meets in single combat the pagan Karaheus, the Saracen emir's champion. The whole combat scene is built on a

[40] *La Chevalerie d'Ogier de Danemarche: Canzone di gesta*, ed. by Mario Eusebi (Milano: Cisalpino, 1963); Bancourt, *Les Musulmans dans les chansons de geste*, p. 547, describes Balan's refusal to convert as 'par orgeuil'; it seems, however, to be more complex, and more interesting, than this.

similar structure to other combats, and in particular shares features of the combat between Oliver and Fierabras in *Fierabras*. Some aspects of the combat may also suggest a link between this text and the combat between Roland and Fernagu in the *Pseudo-Turpin*. Again we have an honourable, chivalrous Saracen, defeated by the Christian, but while neither the *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle* nor *Fierabras* allows the Saracen to get away with this (in the *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle* Fernagu is killed; Fierabras is converted), in this text, alone of all the texts I have looked at, fidelity to one's own god is presented as a virtue:[41]

> Dist Karraeus: 'Em perdon en parlés,
> Ains me laroie tos los menbres coper
> Que ja Mahon soit per moi desfiés.'
> Dient François, 'Karraeus est mult ber;
> Milx li doit estre de sa grant loialté'. (ll. 3060–64)

(Karraeus said: 'You are wasting your time talking thus; I would rather have all my limbs cut off than deny Muhammad.' The French say, 'Karraeus is very noble; he should be commended for his great loyalty'.

Here, uniquely, the virtue of fidelity becomes at least as important as being faithful to the right God and the right cause. The nearest equivalent would be Maozéris in the *Prise de Pampelune*, but in the case of Maozéris from the point of his retraction his presentation then becomes negative; Karaheus, on the other hand, continues to be presented positively.

Paul Bancourt, discussing the differing attitudes towards Muslims in the *chansons de geste*, judged that variations were largely a result of development, of a change in attitude over time, with a growing development of a shared chivalric ethos that overrides other differences.[42] While there is undoubtedly a link between date of composition and the presentation of the noble Saracen, with a development of this topos from around the time of the Third Crusade, it becomes clear, as we look at the texts, that increasing tolerance is not simply

[41] Balan in *Aspremont* requires reassurance that it is acceptable to leave one's lord, to turn traitor effectively, when one is called to a higher loyalty, to the Christian God.

[42] Bancourt, *Les Musulmans dans les chansons de geste*, p. 324, writes of 'les chansons récents où le sort du vaincu n'est pas enfermé [...] dans le dilemme de la conversion ou la mort'. He charts out a 'progress' in which religion is superceded by a common chivalric ethic: 'Ainsi se forge dès la fin du XII^e^ siècle, notamment avec *Fierabras* et *Aspremont*, au XIII^e^ siècle avec la *Chevalerie Ogier* [...] et au début XIV^e^ siècle avec *l'Entree en Espagne* et la *Prise de Pampelune*, la notion d'une éthique chevaleresque, d'une sorte de chevalerie ouverte aux représentants de races, de peuples, de religions diverses'.

as a result of the passing of time. *Fierabras*, which features a noble Saracen but shows no tolerance of the unconverted Saracen, is roughly in the middle of our texts chronologically; *Huon de Bordeaux* is even later.[43] Rather what we find is that texts being written within or for certain contexts are more likely to show some level of acceptance of the 'Other'. Thus texts with geographical origins in the Mediterranean basin or which show some influence of the rather satirical *Pseudo-Turpin Chronicle* are more likely to accept the right of Saracens to hold to a different faith.

It must also be said that the level of tolerance of the 'Other' is limited, or, as Bancourt expresses it is 'selective'.[44] There are only a few texts that allow Saracens to refuse baptism, and most of these Saracens, even when accorded respect, are subsequently killed, either as an immediate and direct consequence, as in *Anseïs de Cartage*, or later, as in the *Chanson de Jérusalem*. That some are converted or killed in sequel texts suggests also a rather limited level of tolerance in the reception of the text, in that the response to a text in which a Saracen is allowed to survive unconverted is to compose a sequel in which he is either converted or killed.

Finally, it should be noted that the medieval poets show a clear understanding of what tolerance of the 'Other' is. There is no confusion between tolerance and compromise. Where they recognize the right of the 'Other' to remain other, they continue to hold fast to their faith, and the absolute belief that 'Pagans are wrong and Christians are right'. Accepting that pagans have a right to persist in their (wrong) belief if they want to do so, does not mean accepting that the belief could possibly be right. The presence in the same texts of Saracens who convert and Saracens who refuse conversion indicates this clearly. Conversion remains an issue and is not sidelined. Religion is no less relevant in the later *chansons de geste* than the early ones.

While it is true that the *chansons de geste* 'do not reflect at all the official Christian theological and polemic attitude to Arabs and Muslims', they do express a range of attitudes to the racial and religious 'Other' and his or her assimilation to Western, Christian society.[45] Perhaps, above all, what we should take heed of in response to these texts is that even the popular literature of the crusades, as represented by these *chansons de geste,* is not unequivocal and not always

[43] Bancourt, *Les Musulmans dans les chansons de geste*, p. 324, includes *Fierabras* as a text that admires chivalry over religion. As the text is intolerant of the unconverted Saracen this does not seem to be the case. Daniel, *Heroes and Saracens*, pp. 38–39, takes a similar view to that of Bancourt.

[44] Bancourt, *Les Musulmans dans les chansons de geste*, p. 566.

[45] Daniel, *Heroes and Saracens*, p. 263.

simplistic in its response to the problem of the Saracen who embraces or rejects Christianity. The issues of divided loyalties, the fears that converted Saracens will later renege and the nobility of those who refuse to convert — all these can be found within the corpus of the *chanson de geste*.

Love in a Hot Climate: Gender Relations in *Florent et Octavien*

Helen J. Nicholson

Florent et Octavien is a long French verse romance-epic of over 18,000 lines. Written in the second half of the fourteenth century and surviving in three manuscripts (all in the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris), it forms part of the so-called Dagobert cycle, which was loosely based around personages and events from the Merovingian period of French history but contains references to later times. Other works in the cycle were *Charles le Chauve*, which preceded *Florent et Octavien*, and *Florence de Rome* and *Theséus de Cologne*, which followed it.[1] Although it was not one of the best-known verse epics, the fact that it was later adapted into prose indicates that it did enjoy some popularity.

In its original form,[2] *Florent et Octavien* was a variation on the familiar tale of the twin brothers separated at birth who pursue different careers and are finally

[1] *Florent et Octavien: Chanson de geste du XIV^e siècle*, ed. by Noëlle Laborderie, Nouvelle Bibliothèque du moyen âge, 17, 2 vols (Paris: Champion, 1991), I, pp. i–ii, vi–vii, ci. Studies of the poem include: Charity Cannon Willard, '*Florent et Octavien*: The Fourteenth-Century Poem', *Olifant: A Publication of the Société Rencesvals, American-Canadian Branch*, 14 (1989), 179–89; Takeshi Matsumura, 'Pour la localisation de *Florent et Octavie*', *Travaux de linguistique et de philologie*, 30 (1992), 355–66; Walburga Hülk, 'Geraubte Kinder: Die Genealogie und der Löwe in den altfranzösischen *Octavian*-Fassungen. Mit einem kleinen Anhang zum *Dit dou Lyon* des Guillaume de Machaut', in *Die Romane von dem Ritter mit dem Löwen*, ed. by Xenja von Ertzdorff (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1994), pp. 451–71; Denis Collomp, 'Le Motif du pape combattant dans l'épopée', in *Le Clerc au moyen âge*, Sénéfiance, 37 (Aix-en-Provence: Cuerma, 1995), pp. 93–112.

[2] *Florent et Octavien* was based on *Octavien*, a thirteenth-century verse epic, but the final third of the story is original: *Florent et Octavien*, I, pp. cxxxvii–clxi.

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reunited in adulthood, where the children's separation from each other is the fault of their mother's jealous mother-in-law.[3] In this case the evil grandmother is the mother of Octavien, emperor of Rome. There are two Octaviens in the tale: the father who is emperor and the twin son who is one of the heroes of the story. One child, Florent, is raised at Paris by a pilgrim, Climent, and his wife, with their own son Clodain; the other, Octavien, is taken by their mother to Latin-held Jerusalem where he is brought up (they escaped to Jerusalem with the help of a lion who assists Octavien in his later adventures). Both children grow to fight against the Saracens, in France, Italy, and in the Holy Land.

The story reflects fourteenth-century crusade efforts in the Iberian Peninsula and in the eastern Mediterranean,[4] when there was still hope among western Europeans that the kingdom of Jerusalem, lost to the Muslim Mamluk Sultan of Egypt in 1291, could be recovered. It refers to places and persons familiar to readers of Archbishop William of Tyre's chronicle of the twelfth-century Latin kingdom of Jerusalem:[5] a King Amaury of Jerusalem, the sultan of Babylon (Cairo in Egypt) and the sultan of Damascus. However, none of the action reflects actual events in physical history: by the time that the work was written, the Ottoman Turks were gaining territory in Anatolia and the Balkans, and although in 1365 a crusade had succeeded in capturing the Egyptian port of Alexandria, it was abandoned a few days later.[6] The interest of *Florent et Octavien* to historians lies in how it reflects the attitudes and ideals of its writer and its intended audience; to borrow a phrase from Maurice Keen, 'the mirror' that it 'held up to life'.[7]

Florent et Octavien is particularly interesting because, despite its setting in the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem, events centre less on Christian–Muslim warfare than military matters and gender relations. As its modern editor, Noëlle Laborderie, commented:

[3] As in the earlier fourteenth-century verse epic, *La Belle Hélène de Constantinople, Chanson de geste du XIV^e siècle*, ed. by Claude Roussel, Textes littéraires français, 454 (Genève: Droz, 1995).

[4] Norman Housley, *The Later Crusades: From Lyons to Alcazar, 1274–1580* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), pp. 22–43, 266–90; Christopher Tyerman, *England and the Crusades, 1095–1588* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1988), pp. 233–302.

[5] William, archbishop of Tyre, *Willelmi Tyrensis archiepiscopi chronicon; Guillaume de Tyre, Chronique*, ed. by R. B. C. Huygens, CCCM, 63, 63A (Turnhout: Brepols, 1986).

[6] Colin Imber, *The Ottoman Empire, 1300–1650: The Structure of Power* (New York: Palgrave, 2002), pp. 4–17; Peter W. Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades, 1191–1374* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 141–79 (pp. 166–67).

[7] Maurice Keen, *Chivalry* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984), p. 103.

> L'idéal chrétien est rejeté à l`arrière plan. Certes, on guerroie toujours contre les païens [...] mais l'auteur montre aussi la guerre entre les païens [...]. Surtout, les chrétiens n'apparaissent plus toujours à leur avantage.[8]

Both young heroes marry Muslim women, who convert to Christianity: Florent marries Marsebille, the Sultan of Babylon's daughter, and Octavien later marries her sister Margalie. Octavien is initially betrothed to a Christian princess, Esclarmonde, daughter of King Amaury of Jerusalem, but abandons her for his Muslim princess. He marries off Esclarmonde to Florent's step-brother Clodain in compensation. Esclarmonde, considering herself betrayed by Octavien, seeks revenge by bringing about the death of Clodain and trying to bring about the death of Octavien's wife, Margalie; she is burned to death for her treachery. As for Octavien, although he became king of Jerusalem, he left no heir behind him, for his son died young.[9] The purpose of this article is to consider how gender relations are portrayed in *Florent et Octavien* and whether the composer of the story could have intended the audience to carry away any message from this ultimately tragic tale.

For the purposes of this study I have divided the relevant part of the plot into four stages, dealing first with the successful relationship between Florent and Marsebille, then with the initially successful relationship between Octavien and Esclarmonde, moving on to the breakdown of the latter as a result of Octavien's infidelity, and finally analysing the tragic finale of the story.

Florent and Marsebille

The giant Fernagu, who 'de grever crestïens estoit molt esmeüz' (was very eager to harm Christians; l. 1509) but had recently been defeated by Christians in battle, went to Sultan Acarïus of Babylon (Cairo in Egypt) to seek assistance. He explained that because Christians despise Muhammad he had crossed the sea to wage war on them, but had been heavily defeated, and Islam was now in danger: 'Or est no loy perdue se vous n'estes tost meus | car ilz la destruiront' (our religion is now lost if you do not move quickly, because they will destroy it; ll. 1527–28). The Sultan vowed to lead a great army across the sea to attack

[8] 'The Christian ideal is thrown into the background. Admittedly, they still fight the pagans [...] but the author also shows us wars between the pagans [...]. Above all, the Christians no longer always appear to their own advantage' (*Florent et Octavien*, I, p. clxviii).

[9] *Florent et Octavien*, II, ll. 18,488–92.

King Dagobert of France and promised Fernagu the kingdom of France and the hand of his daughter Marsebille in marriage. King Dagobert raised an army to defend his lands, assisted by Emperor Octavien of Rome, whose army included the young Florent.

Having fallen in love with Marsebille, 'la belle qui tant est simple et coye' (the lovely, who was so straightforward and modest; l. 2711), Florent defeated and killed Fernagu. Marsebille reciprocated Florent's love, and when her maiden Corsabine remarked that Florent would be of great renown if he were a Muslim, Marsebille retorted that he would be a fool to become a Muslim because Muslims do not value women. Sultans and kings, she said, have at least ten wives and ignore them when they are pregnant and think women are no more valuable than sheep.

> Mais quant ung crestïen a une femme pris
> Et sont par marriage ensemble consortis
> Tous les jours de leur vie n'y est pour eulx q'un lis;
> Et sy n'y a ne roy ne prince ne marchis
> qui en peust avoir q'une en marriage pris (ll. 3657–61).

(But when a Christian man takes a wife, there is only one bed for them for all the days of their lives; not even a king, prince or marquis can take more than one wife.)

And Marsebille vowed that she would be happy to take such a religion.[10]

The message to the audience is clear: only Christians know how to treat women properly, as if proper treatment of women were a crucial criterion for judging the truth of a religion. This view was paralleled in other medieval French fictional texts. The message is perhaps stated most clearly in the prose romance *Perceforest*, in which a noble knight declares that God had laid down that males should honour females, and that in failing to do so knights sin against God:

> Nous, qui avions ou devions avoir sens et raison, avons exurpé et tollu aux dames et aux demoiselles et abuse contre la franchise que le Dieu de Nature leur avoit donnee, car le plus de nous se delectent en elles efforcer et tollir ce que homme ne doibt avoir s'il ne leur plaist que quant ilz le peuent avoir de gré, et en ce mesfaisons nous contre le Dieu de Nature. Et pour ceste raison pour certain nous a Dieu grever, car nous avons deshonnouré ce que nous devions avoir honnouré ainsi que tous font fors nous. Sy nous repentirons premiers par mon conseil de noz mesfaiz et l'amenderons a nostre Dieu.[11]

[10] *Florent et Octavien*, I, ll. 3646–67.

[11] *Le Roman de Perceforest: Première partie*, ed. by Jane Taylor, Textes littéraires français, 279 (Genève: Droz, 1979), ll. 11,983–94.

> ('We, who have or ought to have reason and sense, have abused, usurped and taken from ladies and young women their rights that the God of Nature' [i.e., God — *Perceforest* is set in the pre-Christian era] 'had given them, for most of us delight in raping them and taking what no man should have if it does not please them that they should take it when they want it, and in so doing we trespass against the God of Nature. For this reason God has punished us, for we have dishonoured what we ought to have honoured, as all do except us. So I advise that we should first repent of our misdeeds and make amends to our God'.)

He argues that in failing to honour women, he and his comrades have put themselves outside civilized society, and in order to rejoin it they must improve their treatment of women. It is interesting to compare this view with the comments of earlier medieval Muslim writers such as Bahā' al-Dīn ibn Shaddad, 'Imād al-Dīn, and Ibn al-Athīr, who — in the context of Saladin's wars to recapture Jerusalem — described the Christians' mistreatment of women in order to underline Christian barbarism and 'otherness'; as if, again, a religion is best judged by how it treats women.[12] The Christians are depicted allowing their women to fight in armour and on horseback, and not protecting the rights of widows — in contrast to Saladin, who acts justly towards Christian women.[13] Just as Christian warriors imagined beautiful Muslim princesses converting to Christianity in order to marry them, in the Turkish *Dânişmendnâme*, written in the mid-thirteenth century, Christian noblewomen convert to Islam and marry Muslim warriors: 'on retrouve le theme de la belle Sarrasine, sous sa forme inverse de la belle Chrétienne'.[14]

Marsebille resorted to trickery to deceive her father (ll. 4749–4858), and eventually managed to escape to Paris disguised as a man, to join Florent (ll. 5150–5207). However, in the battle against the Muslims that followed, Florent was captured; he was carried away prisoner to Egypt with his father, Emperor Octavien. Marsebille was left behind in France with Florent's foster-father Climent and foster-brother Clodain.

[12] See for discussion, Helen Nicholson, 'Women on the Third Crusade', *Journal of Medieval History*, 23 (1997), 335–439; also Matthew Bennett, 'Virile Latins, Effeminate Greeks and Strong Women: Gender Definitions on Crusade?', in *Gendering the Crusades*, ed. by Susan B. Edgington and Sarah Lambert (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2001), pp. 16–30 (p. 24); Michael R. Evans, '"Unfit to Bear Arms": The Gendering of Arms and Armour in Accounts of Women on Crusade', in *Gendering*, ed. by Edgington and Lambert, pp. 45–58.

[13] For example: 'Imād al-Dīn al-Katíb al-Isfahāni, *Conquête de la Syrie et de la Palestine par Saladin*, trans. by Henri Massé (Paris: Geuthner, 1972), pp. 105–07, 377.

[14] Tivadar Palágyi, 'Regards croisés sur l'épopée française et le *destân* turc', *Crusades*, 2 (2003), 41–54 (pp. 45, 47; quotation p. 52).

In their adventures, Florent and Marsebille are depicted as equals. Although we are told little of Marsebille's character other than that she is well educated ('bien fu ensengnie'; 'tant fu ensengnie'),[15] and worthy ('tant a valour'),[16] her actions reveal her to be ingenious, brave, and anxious to become a Christian. This is a two-way relationship, as is fitting since Marsebille's description of Christian marriage stresses equality between married spouses. The difference in religion is important insofar as Christianity is depicted as a better religion for women, but it is no barrier in love.

Octavien and Esclarmonde

King Amaury of Jerusalem, we are told, had a daughter named Esclarmonde, who was the most beautiful maiden in the land. The sultan of Damascus sent to King Amaury to ask for her hand in marriage, but the King refused, on the grounds that his daughter was too young and he did not want her to marry a non-Christian. The sultan was very angry and attacked the kingdom (ll. 6198–6235).

The young Octavien went out to join the Christian army against the sultan, accompanied by his lion. Esclarmonde saw him and fell in love with him (ll. 6562–6600). Octavien eventually noticed Esclarmonde too and soon they were both in love (ll. 6613–22). They did nothing they should not, but King Amaury became suspicious, and sent Octavien as a messenger to the Sultan of Damascus, carrying a letter instructing the Sultan to execute the messenger (ll. 7174–78).[17] However, the sultan spared Octavien and attacked Jerusalem, where King Amaury was defeated in battle and forced to hand over Esclarmonde. The sultan took her to Damascus, where she encountered Octavien's lion and found Octavien in prison. Esclarmonde used a ruse to enable them both to escape, with the lion; Esclarmonde was disguised as a man (ll. 7772, 7799–7800), and they set out for Rome to recover Octavien's birthright.

In Rome, Octavien was able to prove his identity and avenge himself on his wicked grandmother. He then resolved to rescue the Emperor, who had been captured at Paris. Having promised Esclarmonde that he would marry her on his

[15] *Florent et Octavien*, I, ll. 3935, 4781.

[16] *Florent et Octavien*, I, l. 4052.

[17] In addition to bringing about the death of Shakespeare's Rosencrantz and Guildenstern in *Hamlet*, this *topos* also appeared in the thirteenth-century romance *Silence*, ed. by Sarah Roche-Mahdi (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1992), ll. 4315–4873; and in one of the third-party testimonies in the trial of the Templars in the British Isles: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 454, fol. 97^{r}.

return to Rome (ll. 9701–9705), when his initial attempts to rescue the Emperor failed he sailed to the Holy Land to seek help, without informing Esclarmonde of his departure. The abandoned Esclarmonde was offered assistance by Marsebille, Climent, and Clodain, who arrived in Rome *en route* to the Holy Land, Marsebille having conceived a plan to rescue Florent. The four travelled on to the Holy Land together (ll. 10,495–10,527 and 10,578–88).

Meanwhile in Jerusalem, Octavien (with his lion's aid) had defeated and killed the sultan of Damascus. King Amaury having died in battle, the barons wanted Octavien to marry the heir to the kingdom, Esclarmonde, and become king. Octavien sent messengers to Rome to find Esclarmonde — only to find that she had vanished.

In this section of the story the lovers are again seen very much as equals. Esclarmonde loved Octavien first, but he quickly came to love her. He bravely fought the Muslims to defend her father, and she bravely brought about his rescue from prison. They fled together to Rome, as if they were already married.

So at this stage of the story there are two loving couples who have been separated by fate and who are anxious to be reunited. In both cases the women use ruses and tricks to rescue and help their men folk. Both women dress as men to join their loved one. At this point in the story, however, these relationships begin to go wrong.

Octavien's Infidelity

Because his messengers did not find Esclarmonde at Rome, Octavien assumed that she was dead and set out to woo her sister Margalie (ll. 10,685–696), who, it transpired, was a secret Christian (ll. 10,764–65). He took the lion with him. When he was taken by surprise in Margalie's room he engaged the assistance of another Muslim lady to help him escape:

> Je ne sçay si ly bers luy joua de ses jeux
> Car toujours vers les dames estoit guaiz et songneux
> De faire ces besongnes dont on est sy honteux
> Mes de demorer la n'estoit pas trop esmeux. (ll. 10,964–67)

(I don't know if the warrior played his games with her, because concerning women he was always careful and caring about performing those duties which people find so shameful, but he was not much inclined to delay there.)

Having escaped and won a battle against the Muslims, Octavien sailed to Egypt and attacked Margalie's father the sultan. The sultan sued for peace, and Octavien

demanded that he release the emperor, his father, and allow him to marry Margalie. Both the sultan and Margalie were baptized and Octavien married Margalie. At this juncture Esclarmonde, Marsebille, Climent, and Clodain arrived in their ship.

> Sont venues deux dames ainsi con au serain;
> l'une fut Marsebille qui le cueur ot certain,
> Et l'autrë Esclarmonde qui ne l'ot pas vilain. (ll. 11,665–67).

(As evening fell, two ladies arrived: one was Marsebille of the firm heart, the other was Esclarmonde, whose heart was not ignoble.)

Florent was delighted to see Marsebille: 'Florent sault avant, plus fut joyaux q'un dain' (Florent leapt forward, more delighted than a deer: l. 11672); and Marsebille 'avoit joye a plain' (was full of joy: l. 11,674); but Octavien did nothing. Esclarmonde approached him and asked him why he did not come to greet her (ll. 11679–85), but Octavien did not know what to say. The writer assures us that Octavien did love Esclarmonde 'de bon cueur sans amer' (with his whole heart), but he dared not show it because Margalie was present:

> Car si le ber eut peu ne penser ne cuider
> Qu'elle eust esté en vie, pour tout l'or d'oultre mer,
> Ne soy fust marïé, ce vous puis tesmoignier. (ll. 11,695–98)

(For I may give you witness that if the warrior had had the faintest idea or thought that she (Esclarmonde) was alive, he would not have married (Margalie) for all the gold overseas.)

But when the thing was done, it was difficult to put it right. Octavien assured Esclarmonde that he had thought she was dead: he had heard news that she was buried (l. 11,704: but this was not true, see ll. 10,589–10,602). Esclarmonde burst into tears, asking how he could have forgotten her so soon, and declaring that she had been betrayed (ll. 11,718–26).

Was Esclarmonde being reasonable in her accusations? Although she and Octavien were not formally married, they had done or were believed to have done everything that was required in the eyes of the medieval Church and society to make a marriage. They were vowed to each other, they had travelled together, there was a general belief among onlookers that they had already slept together or were about to do so (hence King Amaury had sent Octavien to Damascus), Esclarmonde had risked her life to save Octavien from prison in Damascus, and the barons of Jerusalem had urged Octavien to marry her. As Jerusalem was Esclarmonde's inheritance, Octavien had inherited it partly because he had been

betrothed to her — although because of her disappearance and presumed death the marriage had not taken place. The couple were of equal rank and not related by blood, and neither of them had been previously promised to anyone.[18]

On these grounds, Octavien was an adulterer who had abandoned the woman who was regarded as his wife in order to marry another. Unlike the good Christian husband outlined by Marsebille earlier in the story, Octavien now had two wives, as well as possibly enjoying a brief relationship with the Muslim lady in Margalie's castle.

This disaster was the fault of both parties. It came about partly through Esclarmonde's fear and lack of trust — too impatient to wait for news, she set off prematurely to find Octavien. It was also due to Octavien's impatience, his failure to communicate to Esclarmonde and his lack of trust in her, not stopping to consider she might be on her way to him rather than having died. Just as canon lawyers advised that a wife whose husband had died on campaign should wait a year before remarrying, Octavien should have waited a year rather than seeking a new bride straight away.[19] In fact, as he had no certain news of her death, he should not have looked for a new bride, but waited until he knew for certain that she was dead.

Octavien's proper action was to have his marriage to Margalie declared invalid and to take back Esclarmonde. Instead his mother Florimonde stepped in to comfort Esclarmonde, belittling the problem and promising her any other husband she might want (ll. 11,731–34). Esclarmonde became silent, realizing 'n'en pouvoit plus faire' (there was nothing else to do: l. 11,738). The celebrations continued, and the old Emperor Octavien divided up the lands that they had conquered: young Octavien held Rome, Florent held Jerusalem, and Florent's foster-brother Clodain held Cairo. Clodain married Esclarmonde, who did not want to marry him because she did not love him (ll. 11,844–46). As Clodain was

[18] Christopher Brooke, *The Medieval Ideal of Marriage* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), esp. pp. 137–38; James Brundage, 'Sexual Equality in Medieval Canon Law', in *Medieval Women and the Sources of Medieval History*, ed. by Joel T. Rosenthal (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1990), pp. 66–79, repr. in James A. Brundage, *Sex, Law and Marriage in the Middle Ages* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1993), article VI, with the same pagination; Peter Coss, *The Lady in Medieval England, 1000–1500* (Stroud: Sutton, 1998), pp. 115–23; Linda E. Mitchell, 'Women and Medieval Canon Law', in *Women in Medieval Western European Culture* (New York: Garland, 1999), pp. 143–56 (pp. 146–47); Sam Worby, *Law and Kinship in Thirteenth-Century England* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2010), pp. 10–11.

[19] James A. Brundage, 'The Crusader's Wife Revisited', *Studia Gratiana*, 14 (1967), 243–51 (pp. 245–50); repr. in James A. Brundage, *The Crusades, Holy War and Canon Law* (Aldershot: Variorum, 1991), article XVI (with the same pagination).

a merchant's son and Esclarmonde the daughter of a king, such a marriage was an insult to her rank. What was more, as she already considered herself bound to Octavien, she would not regard this marriage as binding. Although this part of the story ends in rejoicing, the writer warns us that Esclarmonde will betray Clodain.

Tragedy

The editor of the text suggests that this final part was written later than the rest of the work, possibly in the early fifteenth century.[20] However, as it continues the story and the end it describes appears as the inevitable result of earlier events, it is arguable that the poem was composed as a unity. Although the first three parts of the story could stand alone, it is the final, tragic part which gives the narrative its moral point and lifts it above a simple adventure romance to a tragedy brought about by the inherent flaws of the protagonists, which questions the values and practices of the society that produced it.

Esclarmonde brought about Clodain's death, then sent messengers to Rome to tell Octavien that Clodain was dead. Octavien promised to send help and set out with his lion for the east. Going to meet Octavien, Esclarmonde lamented the fact that 'puis que vous me laissates, suis veusve demoree' (Since you left me, I have been left a widow: l. 12,568). Octavien promised her any husband she wanted, but she replied that she would accept no one else: she was vowed to him, and he had cheated her:

> Jamais ne seray a nul home donnee,
> Et pour la vostre amour en est l'evre vouee,
> Car a vous fut ma foy et baillee et juree,
> Et de vo corps aussi me fut elle livree,
> Jhesus la vous pardoint, car vous l'avés faulsee ...
> Bien ay vers vous ma foy loyalment acquitee (ll. 12,574–78; 12,582).

(I will never be given to any man; I have sworn this for the sake of your love, for my word was given and sworn to you, and yours was given to me by your body; may Jesus pardon you for it, for you have broken your faith [...] I have loyally discharged my faith to you.)

Octavien excused himself, saying that he had been told that she was dead and his father gave him another wife (ll. 12,584–85) — a lie, as Octavien had chosen Margalie himself and arranged his marriage to her at the same time as he negotiated

[20] *Florent et Octavien*, I, pp. clxx–clxxi.

his father's release. He then went on to utter 'une fole parole' (foolish words; l. 12,587), telling her not to be angry, as they might yet achieve their desired end: 'Encore est no besongne a droit tour arrivee' (l. 12,589). Esclarmonde interpreted this to mean that if Margalie died Octavien would marry her, and she promptly began to plot Margalie's death. She also persuaded Octavien to sleep with her (ll. 12,605–15) — so that now he had sexually betrayed both his 'wives'.

Margalie was deceived by Esclarmonde and only narrowly escaped death, being rescued by her Muslim brother Corsabrin. She told him that their father made her marry Octavien, and now Octavien was trying to kill her because she was not a Christian. Thinking Margalie dead, Octavien enjoyed himself with Esclarmonde. He left her only to wage war against Corsabrin. The relative unimportance of religious difference within the text is underlined by the fact that Octavien's military ally was Prince Gladius, a Muslim who had converted to Christianity for political motives because of his enmity towards Corsabrin.

Arriving at Corsabrin's fortress of Rochebrunne, where Margalie was staying, Octavien dallied with the wife of his host and was almost caught by murderers, but managed to escape, leaving his lion behind. When she encountered the familiar lion, Margalie realized that Octavien had been in Rochebrunne. She was furious: first because she believed he was responsible for the attempt on her life, and second because she heard that he was sleeping with another woman (ll. 13,693–717). Octavien and his allies captured Rochebrunne and discovered the lion and Margalie, who accused him of treachery. Realizing that Esclarmonde was responsible for the murder attempt, Octavien admitted some fault, blaming his own youth and bad councillors:

> Maiz j'ay creü conseil, tres bien m'en aperçoys,
> C'est partie a ma coulpe et je le vous cognois,
> Car j'ay esté trop jeunes et plain de mes vouloirs
> Et creü le conseil de gens de putes fois,
> Car folie et jeunesse m'a mis en telz esploys;
> Le pardon vous en prie, dame, par mon endroit (ll. 14,267–71).

> (But I clearly perceive that I believed (bad) advice; it is partly my fault, and I admit it to you, for I was too young and full of my own wishes, and believed the advice of treacherous people, for folly and youth placed me in such a position; I beg your pardon on me, lady.)

Was he blaming bad counsellors for making him believe that Esclarmonde was dead? Or was he blaming Esclarmonde for making him trust her? Or was he simply trying to avoid taking responsibility for his own actions? The writer does not explain, leaving the audience to debate the matter.

The Christian warriors went on to a great battle outside Cairo, where the lion, in his last appearance in the story, fought bravely and killed many Muslims. Victorious, the Christians entered the castle and found Esclarmonde. Faced with her crime, Esclarmonde confessed everything. She declared that she loved Octavien with her whole heart, and when she lost him she could never be happy again: she married Clodain against her will:

> Oultre le myen voloir m'eustes mari donné
> Oncques jour ne l'amay, c'est le certainté (ll. 14,918–19).
>
> (He was given to me in marriage against my will
> I'll never love him, that's a certainty.)

On these counts, her marriage to Clodain was not valid, for — according to canon law — consent was an essential part of a valid marriage.[21] Esclarmonde went on to state that she had given her youth to Octavien and endured great trouble, and been exiled from her own kingdom for his sake; yet even when her father died and the barons gave him the kingdom on condition he married her, he had done nothing (ll. 14,924–29). She had saved him from death and he had promised to marry her, yet he had not; he had given her a husband she could not love, who was not of her rank or of noble lineage (ll. 14,930–35): 'n'il n'estoit mon pareil ne de lignage né' (l. 14,936). Octavien's action in forcing this marriage on her was a great sin on his part (l. 14,937), because as a result she had brought about her husband's death and tried to kill Octavien's wife; she knew this was wrong, but she acted out of her love for Octavien. The blame was his: 'vous en estes en coulpe' (l. 14,942). Indeed, lawyers would have agreed that by giving Esclarmonde a pledge of faith and then sleeping with her, Octavien was implicated in the attempted murder of Margalie.[22]

Octavien was full of anger and pity: anger because of what Esclarmonde had done to his wife, and pity because he remembered the good that she had done him in the past. He would have very willingly pardoned her, but the barons would not allow it (ll. 14,943–51). Octavien declared that he would not interfere: they could do what they liked to Esclarmonde. They burned her to death. Octavien was sorry, but they criticized his grief (ll. 14,984–86). Then there was great rejoicing in the palace, but the writer breaks off his description quickly to return to Marsebille, Florent, and their baby son Othon (l. 15,000).

[21] Worby, *Law and Kinship*, pp. 10–11.

[22] Worby, *Law and Kinship*, p. 11.

If we assume that the writer of this work expected the audience to approve the hero's actions, then the final part is a fierce attack on the romantic ideals presented in the prose romances of the time such as *Guiron le Courtois* and *Perceforest*, in which knights have a duty to protect and respect all women.[23] Esclarmonde's horrible death after her long appeal to Octavien is in fact reminiscent of a similar event in another fourteenth century verse epic, *Le Bâtard de Bouillon*, in which the *Bâtard* forces a Muslim lady, Ludie, to marry him, although she is in love with another man whom she continues to love. When she tries to bring about the *Bâtard*'s death, to aid her first love, he has her burned alive.[24] This would suggest that such anti-romantic views were a theme within fourteenth-century literature. Yet it is by no means clear that the writer of *Florent et Octavien* did intend the audience to approve of Octavien's deed, or of the action of the *Bâtard* against his unwilling wife. As the Church at this time regarded marriage as a matter of agreement between a couple that could not be brought about by force and that was only valid when both spouses were willing,[25] then Esclarmonde was married to Octavien; and by abandoning Esclarmonde for Margalie, Octavien not only committed adultery himself but also forced Esclarmonde into a false marriage, and in the same way the *Bâtard*'s marriage to Ludie was also false. Therefore Esclarmonde was correct to say that her sins were Octavien's fault. Yet she also

[23] *Gyron le Courtoys*, with an introductory note by C. E. Pickford (London: Scolar, 1979), esp. fols 226^{b}, 227^{c}–229^{a} (Guiron spares a disreputable young lady simply because she is a woman; the discourteous Brehus is courteous towards her); Roger Lathuillère, *Guiron le Courtois: Étude de la tradition manuscrite et analyse critique*, Publications romanes et françaises, 86 (Genève: Droz, 1966); *Les Anciennes Cronicques Dangleterre faitz et gestes des roys Perceforest et Gadiffer descosse: Hystoire moult solatiense et delectable; Nouvellement imprimé*, 6 vols in 2 (Paris: Cousteau, 1528); Jeanne Lods, *Le Roman de Perceforest: Origines — composition — caratères — valeur et influence*, Publications romanes et françaises, 32 (Genève: Droz, 1951); L.-F. Flutre, 'Études sur le Roman de Perceforêt (huitième et dernier article)', *Romania*, 91 (1970), 189–226; *Le Roman de Perceforest: Première partie*, ed. by Taylor, esp. ll. 11,930–12,016; *Perceforest: Deuxième partie*, ed. by Gilles Roussineau, Textes littéraires français, 506, 540, 2 vols (Genève: Droz, 1999–2001), esp. II, 255–56; *Perceforest: Troisième partie*, ed. by Gilles Roussineau, 3 vols, Textes littéraires français, 365, 409, 434 (Genève: Droz, 1988–1993); *Quatrième partie du Roman de Perceforest*, ed. by Gilles Roussineau, Textes littéraires français, 343 (Genève: Droz, 1986); Sylvia Huot, 'Visualizing the Feminine in the *Roman de Perceforest*: The Episode of the "Conte de la Rose"', in *Troubled Vision: Gender, Sexuality and Sight in Medieval Text and Image*, ed. by Emma Campbell and Robert Mills (New York: Palgrave, 2004), pp. 193–206.

[24] *Le Bâtard de Bouillon: Chanson de geste*, ed. by Robert F. Cook, Textes littéraires français, 187 (Genève: Droz, 1972), ll. 4627–35, 4912–14, 5546–47, 5436–39.

[25] See n. 18 above.

bore some guilt herself, for which she paid the price that the law demanded for murder by a woman.[26]

Octavien could not escape the result of his sin. The writer tells us that he went on to fight the Muslims and conquer many cities (ll. 14,996–99; 18,483–83), but he died without an heir; his child died young, before he could bear arms. 'Ce point fit crestïens moult fort a destourber' (this fact greatly troubled the Christians),[27] for without an heir Octavien's regime lacked stability and on his death all his achievements were in danger of being destroyed. His successes were ephemeral and temporary; and bearing in mind the writings of canonists and theologians emphasizing that God would severely punish adultery,[28] I suggest that the writer of the story was showing the audience that Octavien's adultery brought tragic results for others in the short term: not only for Esclarmonde, but for Clodain, Margalie, and all those who died in the resulting war; and also for himself in the long term.

The lion offers us another insight into the writer's view of Octavien. The lion, who follows the hero and helps him in his battles against the Muslims, may be intended to represent Christ's presence with him.[29] If this is the case, it is significant that the lion last appears in the battle to capture Cairo, and is not with Octavien when he gives up Esclarmonde to death. Christ is with him while he is in the right, but when Octavien abandons the right Christ no longer

[26] For the application of this punishment in a case of an Englishwoman who arranged her husband's murder, see Coss, *The Lady in Medieval England*, pp. 131–34. Burning to death was the usual punishment in English and French law for a woman who killed her husband: Barbara A. Hanawalt, 'The Female Felon in Fourteenth-Century England', in *Women in Medieval Society*, ed. by Susan Mosher Stuard (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1976), pp. 125–40 (p. 135); *The Etablissements de Saint Louis: Thirteenth-Century Law Texts from Tours, Orléans, and Paris*, ed. and trans. by F. R. P. Akehurst (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996), pp. 26, 28, chaps 35, 39; S. H. Cuttler, *The Law of Treason and Treason Trials in Later Medieval France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), p. 118.

[27] *Florent et Octavien*, II, l. 18,489.

[28] James Brundage, *Law, Sex and Christian Society in Western Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), p. 208, n. 164 (adultery blamed for a defeat in battle); p. 462 and n. 226: adulterers threatened with punishment; n. 227: canonists considered that a man should be punished more severely for adultery than a woman.

[29] Sülheylâ Bayrav, *Symbolisme médiéval: Béroul, Marie, Chrétien* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1957), p. 125 (on *Yvains*): 'le lion est ici comme le symbole de la grâce particulière qui l'accompagne et le soutient dans les moments difficiles. On sait que d'après les Bestiaires le lion est une des figures de Jésus Christ'. John Bednar, *La Spiritualité et le Symbolisme dane les Œuvres de Chrétien de Troyes* (Paris: Nizet, 1974), p. 128: [le] 'lion qui incarne la Résurrection'.

accompanies him. It is likely that the intended message of the story is that Octavien and Esclarmonde simply were not worthy of each other. This was Joan Ferrante's conclusion regarding other lovers in Old French literature whose love went astray or nearly led to disaster, such as Melior and Partenopeu de Blois, *Li Biaus Desconneu* and *la Pucele*, Horn and Rigmel, Ille and Galeron, and Eliduc and his wife. 'What the author is saying [...] is that for man and woman both it is not enough to love; one must be aware of the true nature of love and fully accept the responsibilities it brings'.[30]

In contrast to Esclarmonde and Octavien, the romance of Florent and Marsebille ends more happily. They too must undergo long separations and trials. Florent is unfaithful in that he considers marrying the young Muslim princess Police when he thinks that Marsebille is dead (ll. 16,798–808). Marsebille is given another offer of marriage by a Muslim prince but never falters in her fidelity towards Florent, whom she rescues from a Muslim prison (ll. 16,527–40; 17,110–15; 17,153–350). When the King of Amarie declares *à propos* of Marsebille's actions that women are totally unreliable (ll. 17,394–97), the audience must have laughed at the irony of his words: Marsebille is in fact extremely faithful, while it is the menfolk, Florent and Octavien, who are unreliable.

Marsebille's fidelity saves her lineage. When Florent fights his son Othon, all unknowing, it is Marsebille who recognizes Othon while her husband stands by baffled (ll. 17,955–18,029). After Marsebille's death, Florent goes to the east to fight the Muslims, as if in a gesture of repentance for his sins (ll. 18,453–74). Othon marries Police (l. 17,590), who bears a daughter, Florence, whose adventures will be told in the next part of the cycle (ll. 18,466–74; 18,493–505). Equality and trust between lovers clearly brings its reward — at least in the world-view of our author. Yet much is beyond human control: the writer declares that human life is ruled by fortune (ll. 15,383–93).

Conclusion

Although superficially *Florent et Octavien* appears to be a misogynist tale of Christian versus Muslim, in fact it is a far more subtle and complex work, and, when viewed as a whole, can be read as a critique of misogynist attitudes among the western European ruling class. Religious difference is of little importance, and is used mainly to reveal the weakness of the Christians. The Muslims are certainly

[30] Joan M. Ferrante, *Woman as Image in Medieval Literature: From the Twelfth Century to Dante* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1975), pp. 85–92 (p. 86).

the religious enemy (for example, Fernagu hates Christians on purely religious grounds), but they may convert and become good Christians, while the Christian characters often appear ridiculous. The best Christians in the story are, ironically, the converted Muslim princesses Marsebille and Margalie. Esclarmonde's horrible death is carefully set up by the author to show its injustice; although Esclarmonde herself contributes towards her fate, Octavien carries the greatest blame. Marsebille is a faithful wife who saves her husband, even though he falters in his fidelity towards her. If the women resort to trickery, this is because they cannot fight with weapons (unlike Aye of Avignon, in another epic cycle).[31] As a Muslim, Marsebille declares that Christianity is superior to Islam specifically because Christian women have better marriage rights: 'No loy enverz la leur ne vault deux parisis [...] Telle loy prise jë, dame, je vous plevis.' (Our religion is not worth two pence of Paris compared to theirs [...] I swear to you, lady, I could appreciate such a religion.)[32]

This said, who was the intended audience of this romance-epic? If we were to adopt early twenty-first century gender stereotypes as our guide, we might say that the epic style and frequent battles indicate an intended audience of young men, whereas the strong female characters and stress on Octavien's good looks and love for women indicate a female audience. It is, however, likely that the story was intended to carry a message for both sexes. Women may be every bit as brave and as faithful as men, and men may lack judgement and act foolishly. Young men should value their girlfriends, trust them, and appreciate their intelligence and ingenuity. Young lovers should have patience and trust each other if they wish to avoid disaster. The Middle East and Christian–Muslim wars serve only as a colourful backdrop to this tale where religious belief is of secondary importance to long-suffering and fidelity in human relationships.

[31] *Gui de Nanteuil, chanson de geste*, ed. by James R. McCormack, Textes littéraires français, 161 (Genève: Droz, 1970); *Aye d'Avignon, chanson de geste anonyme*, ed. by S. J. Borg, Textes littéraires français, 134 (Genève: Droz, 1967); *Tristan de Nanteuil, chanson de geste inédite*, ed. by K. V. Sinclair (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1971).

[32] *Florent et Octavien*, I, ll. 3651, 3662. For further discussion of medieval western European literature on the theme of the Muslim princess choosing to convert to Christianity, see Natasha R. Hodgson, *Women, Crusading and the Holy Land in Historical Narrative* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2007), pp. 68–70; Jacqueline de Weever, *Sheba's Daughters: Whitening and Demonizing the Saracen Woman in Medieval French Epic* (New York: Garland, 1998); and Marianne Ailes's comments in her article in this volume, esp. her n. 16.

'Pagans' and 'Others' in the *Chanson de Jérusalem*

Susan B. Edgington

The *Chanson de Jérusalem* is the third in a series of three poems which makes up the so-called 'First Crusade Cycle', and which were brought together some time around 1200. While the compiler's identity is disputed, it is convenient to refer to him as Graindor de Douai, the name by which he is traditionally known.[1] The first poem in the series is the *Chanson d'Antioche*, and this is the best known and the most highly regarded of the three since it was based on verifiable historical material about the course of the First Crusade, through to the battle of Antioch in 1098.[2] The historical sources probably included songs and stories of participants. The second element is the *Chanson des Chétifs*, or 'Song of the Captives', which was almost certainly written in the 1140s as an entertainment for the prince of Antioch and his household.[3] Although this purports to tell the story of some of the followers of the eccentric and notorious crusade preacher Peter the Hermit who had been taken captive in Asia Minor and were released in the aftermath of the capture of Nicaea, it is in fact a work of complete fiction, which may owe something to Byzantine epic. Graindor, the compiler, provided introductory and linking material to join these two poems together, and this complicates any attempts to restore the earlier versions of

[1] Hermann Kleber, 'Graindor de Douai: Remanieur — auteur — mécène?', in *Les Épopées de la croisade*, ed. by Karl-Heinz Bender, Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur, Beiheft, n.s., 11 (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1987), pp. 66–75.

[2] *La Chanson d'Antioche*, ed. by Suzanne Duparc-Quioc, Documents relatifs à l'histoire des croisades, 11, 2 vols (Paris: Geuthner, 1977–78).

[3] *Les Chétifs*, ed. by Geoffrey M. Myers, The Old French Crusade Cycle, 5 (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1981).

Languages of Love and Hate: Conflict, Communication, and Identity in the Medieval Mediterranean, ed. by Sarah Lambert and Helen Nicholson, International Medieval Research, 15 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), 37–47 BREPOLS PUBLISHERS 10.1484/M.IMR-EB.1.101128

the poems. And then — one imagines — Graindor realized that he could not abandon the crusade half way through, but needed to bring it to its culmination in the capture of Jerusalem, July 1099. So a third part was added, the *Chanson de Jérusalem*, which is the subject of this chapter. This has been much less studied than the other two, although there is now a definitive edition by Nigel Thorp which has superseded the nineteenth-century version by Hippeau.[4]

Insiders and Outsiders

Before we can look at the 'Other' we need to define the norm. This is straightforward. The cycle of songs was compiled, performed, and copied for a particular audience: the arms-bearers of north-eastern France. It is noteworthy that such an intended audience would be male (though obviously women would also have heard recitations or readings). The evidence for the region is extrinsic, in the diction, dialect, and diffusion of the poems; the evidence for social status and occupation is intrinsic: studies of the content show that it was designed to appeal to potential crusaders — in fact, the poems may have had a recruitment function. I have examined this in detail for the *Chanson d'Antioche*, and a study of the *Chanson de Jérusalem* does not lead me to change my opinion.[5] The lords and knights of Champagne and Picardy evidently liked to hear about the exploits of their own kind.

Thus there are a great many personal names in the *Chanson*, presumably a manifestation of the family traditions of crusading which have been so thoroughly investigated by Riley-Smith.[6] As well as local heroes, though, the poem celebrates the deeds of the 'big names' of the First Crusade, without regard as to whether they were actually present at the siege of Jerusalem, or indeed were alive. So the crusade leader Baldwin of Boulogne is not allowed to remain in Edessa nor Bohemond in Antioch; both are present in the thick of

[4] *La Chanson de Jérusalem*, ed. by Nigel R. Thorp (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1992); *La Conquête de Jérusalem, faisant suite à la Chanson d'Antioche, composée par le pèlerin Richard et renouvelée par Graindor de Douai au XIII^e siècle*, ed. by C. Hippeau (Paris: Aubry, 1868).

[5] Susan B. Edgington, 'Holy Land, Holy Lance: Religious Ideas in the *Chanson d'Antioche*', in *Holy Land and Holy Lands*, ed. by Robert N. Swanson, Studies in Church History, 36 (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2000), pp. 142–53.

[6] Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading* (London: Athlone, 1986); Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders, 1095–1131* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

the fighting.[7] And fighting is what it is all about: an unrelieved concatenation of sieges and battles, sorties and raids, ambushes and attacks, challenges and duels. The knights and their equipment are frequently described in detail, and for the heroes we learn not only the colour of their standards, but the names of their horses and even of their swords.

The Pagans

This pre-occupation with the trappings of knighthood applies to the 'pagans', too. As in other *chansons de geste*, the poet holds a mirror up and shows the enemy leaders as a more or less distorted reflection of his knightly audience.[8] This is very evident in the descriptions of individual Saracens prepared for battle. We are told the names, colours and pedigree of *their* horses, too, and the heraldic devices on their standards (for example, pp. 235–37, ll. 690–703). When they ride into battle they shout 'Damascus' to rally their troops; a direct reply to the crusaders' 'Saint-Sépucre' or 'Monjoie'. Their leader Cornumaran or Cornumarant[9] has a Saragossan helmet and rides the Arab horse Plantamor (ll. 1589–94, 3879), and he is described in routine chivalric terms as 'Molt ert preus et hardis et isnials ses cevals' (he was very doughty and bold, and his horse was nimble': l. 1736), and 'N'ot si hardi paien en trestoute Turcie' ('there was no pagan so bold in the whole of the Turks' land': l. 2616). There is a magnificent set-piece duel between Baldwin of Boulogne, on his horse 'Prinsaut l'arragon', and Cornumaran on Plantamor, which starts during the siege of Jerusalem (pp. 124–27, 129), and only ends, with Baldwin's victory and Cornumaran's death, during the great battle which stands in for the battle of Ascalon (p. 243). The last scene of the *chanson* is entirely Cornumaran's: his corpse is brought into

[7] Baldwin of Boulogne, brother of the most famous leader of the First Crusade, Godfrey of Bouillon, had left the crusade in Asia Minor and become, by invitation, count of Edessa, where he remained until Christmas 1099. He was to succeed Godfrey as king of Jerusalem in 1100. Bohemond had engineered the capture of Antioch in 1098 and remained there during the advance on and capture of Jerusalem in 1099. For these and other historical figures, and the real events of the siege of Jerusalem, see Thomas Asbridge, *The First Crusade: A New History* (London: Free, 2004).

[8] The *chansons*' depiction of Christian and Muslim warriors sharing key warrior values has been widely discussed. For a survey of the historiography, see Margaret Jubb, 'The Crusaders' Perceptions of their Opponents', in *Palgrave Advances in the Crusades*, ed. by Helen J. Nicholson (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), pp. 225–44 (pp. 233–40).

[9] For this character, see also the discussion by Marianne Ailes in this volume.

Jerusalem by Baldwin and his brother Eustace.[10] He is treated as a worthy enemy — Baldwin even wishes he had not killed him — and then the pagan's heart is cut out. It is the biggest anyone has ever seen — if only he had been a Christian! If he had he would have been the best knight in the world. They wrap his heart in precious stuff, replace it in the body, and bury Cornumaran outside the walls of Jerusalem (p. 257).

The treatment of the enemy's religion is more like a photographic negative than a reflection. There is no genuine understanding of Islam.[11] It is presented as a polytheistic faith, with ever-shifting lists of gods, usually headed by a trinity of Mahon, Apollin, and Tervagant, or simply 'le deable' (l. 2036). There is a bejewelled idol of Mahon in the Sultan's camp (ll. 7118, 7278), and later one of Apollin is described (l. 8179). When finally the Saracens are defeated they lament that their gods have betrayed them (p. 246). Two curious formulas are used: 'la sinagogue de le mahomerie' for the mosque (l. 1466), as if the compiler of the poem conflated the Jewish faith with Islam;[12] and 'califes l'apostoiles', or 'caliph their pope' (ll. 6197, 6662), a common misconception among medieval European Christians. At the end of any battle, the souls of the dead are carried away: the Christians by angels (e.g. l. 2299); the Muslims by devils (e.g. ll. 731–32).

The 'pagan' leaders are seen as both exotic and barbarous. Some have magical powers, including the prophecies of Cornumaran's uncle, Lucabel (ll. 1922–31), which echo those of Kerbogha's mother in the *Chanson d'Antioche*.[13] There are passing references to necromancy (ll. 6093, 8184). Arabic medicine is seen as partaking of magic too: when Peter the Hermit is captured and held in the Sultan's camp the court doctor Lucion is summoned. He administers a herbal remedy,

[10] Eustace of Boulogne was the elder brother of both Godfrey of Bouillon and Baldwin. His part in the crusade was undistinguished, and he lived to return to Europe.

[11] For a summary of the historiography on this distorted image of Islam, see Jubb, 'The Crusaders', pp. 228–33.

[12] Further conflation of Judaism and Islam in this text is discussed below. For discussion of the conflation and confusion of Judaism and Islam as 'Other' in medieval European Christian thought, see, for example, Malcolm C. Barber, 'Lepers, Jews and Moslems: The Plot to Overthrow Christendom in 1321', *History*, 66 (1981), 1–17; Rachel Dressler, '"Deus hoc vult": Ideology, Identity and Sculptural Rhetoric at the Time of the Crusades', *Medieval Encounters: Jewish, Christian and Muslim Culture in Confluence and Dialogue*, 1 (1995), 188–218 (pp. 190–91, 204–08); Benjamin Z. Kedar, 'The Massacre of 15 July 1099 in the Historiography of the Crusades', *Crusades*, 3 (2004), 15–75 (pp. 60–64).

[13] Natasha R. Hodgson, 'Kerbogha's Mother and Selected Sources of the First Crusade', in *Gendering the Crusades*, ed. by Susan B. Edgington and Sarah Lambert (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2001), pp. 163–76.

and Peter is instantly cured of an enormous wound in his lung (p. 192). This Sultan of Persia is described in terms of extreme opulence and luxury — witness, for example, the two-page depiction of his tent (pp. 170–72). He is civilized, as witness the doctor (above), and he also, apparently, speaks French ('Romans' — l. 7093). The sultan plays chess — another scene which echoes the *Chanson d'Antioche* (l. 7506). He has more than one wife and at one point the 'caliph' preaches the obligation to take up to five (p. 172).

While Cornumaran, son of the 'king of Jerusalem', is described early in the poem as blond and handsome, wearing magnificent robes (p. 91), the troops who fight under his leadership in the great battle are emphatically different, or Other. This mirrors the contrast in the Christian ranks, between the knights on the one hand, and the 'petites gens', the 'little people', *Chétifs* and Tafurs, on the other (see below). The first battalion in the pagan army is of black warriors riding horned horses (l. 8243); the second is of Moors, 'plus noir que poivres' (blacker than pepper: l. 8248); those who follow include giants and people from beyond the Red Sea; people with teeth like boars. And so on — there are sixty peoples ('gens') in all, and some are complete fantasy, such as the 'Espies' who have beaks like birds, heads like dogs, and whose hands and feet have claws like lions' (ll. 8318); others may reflect travellers' tales, like the people of Alfaïn, who are very quarrelsome, drink no wine, live underground, eat grain and pepper and cumin, and wear no clothes — it is hard to decide which trait is considered the most bizarre (ll. 8281–89).[14]

The imagined exoticism spills into fantasy, for example where the pagan generals are mounted: one on a serpent, another on a lion, a third on a giant, a fourth on a griffon, while Canebaut is seated on the son of a dragon and leads an elephant ridden by Mahon (ll. 6257–60). Sultan, the 'emir of Persia', in the passage which follows, is wearing a cloak which confers immunity to wounds and poisons. It is revealed a little later that it was made by Pallas Athene and Morgan la Fée (l. 6594) — a combination of the pagan goddess of wisdom and warfare and the other-worldly wise-woman familiar to late twelfth-century audiences from Arthurian romance.

Besides the constant descriptions of battles and warlike attributes, the poet frequently resorts to hunting similes when referring to the relationship between the Christians and the pagans. The Saracens are 'plus [...] fier de sengler' (fiercer than wild boars: l. 5680; see also l. 7945); they are hares to the crusaders' harriers (ll. 7644–45); or birds to the crusaders' hawks (l. 8523). Hunting was presumably his audience's second favourite activity, after fighting.

[14] The whole description of the pagan army extends from p. 218 to p. 230 of the printed edition.

Marginal Groups

There are two alien groups that receive no more than passing mentions: the Jews and the Byzantines. The Jews are referred to only in connection to the Crucifixion. There are hints of the 'vengeance' theme, though less strong than in the *Chanson d'Antioche*:

> Passé a .II.C. ans que m'ont sorti Grigois,
> Suriien et Hermin, Pateron et Gorgois:
> Francs venroient sor nos, que tu ore as iex vois,
> Por vengier le Segnor, qui çaiens fu destrois,
> Batus et escopis, et ferus en la crois.
> Mais li Juu le firent: ço fu par nos defois (ll. 1381–86).

(Two hundred years have passed since the Greeks, | Syrians, Armenians, Pechenegs(?), and Georgians prophesied to me that | the Franks would descend on us, as you can now see with your own eyes, | to avenge the Lord, who was destroyed inside [Jerusalem], | beaten and spat upon, and crucified and wounded by the lance. | But the Jews did this: that is our defence.)

These words are put into the mouth of the Saracen leader Corbadas, addressing his son Cornumarans, and in them there is an implicit awareness that the 'pagans' have inherited the blame for the Crucifixion. Shortly afterwards this is made explicit in a speech by Harpins de Bohorges:

> Dist a ses compaignons, 'Or ai çou que je quier.
> Vés ci paiens issir: pensons de Deu vengier,
> Ki por nos se laisa batre et crucefiier'. (ll. 1651–53)

(He said to his companions, 'Now I have what I was looking for. | Here are the pagans making a sortie: let's make up our minds to avenge our God, | Who allowed Himself to be beaten and crucified for us'.)

It is something of a surprise to find the Greek Tatikios present at the siege of Jerusalem, but this is part of the poet's desire to reassemble the cast from the earlier siege of Antioch.[15] The Greek general, as in the *Chanson d'Antioche*, is described in admiring terms:

> Une autre esciele fisent no chevalier baron,
> Cil de Constantinoble — tot furent compaignon.

[15] Tatikios had led the Byzantine contingent on behalf of the Byzantine Emperor Alexios I Komnenos, but he had withdrawn from the siege of Antioch before the city's eventual capture.

> Bien furent .X. millier hardi conme lion;
> Cels conduist Estatins qui cuer ot de dragon. (ll. 3130–34)
>
> (Our noble knights made up another battalion, | that of Constantinople — they were all comrades. | There were a good ten thousand, as brave as lions; | Tatikios led them, who had the heart of a dragon.)

Outsiders Inside

Women constitute another alien group. Whether Christian or 'pagan' they rarely appear as individuals and their names are never given. The Christian women appear more frequently in the first part of the poem, which describes the siege of Jerusalem. They are first encountered weeping — along, it has to be said, with the rest of the pilgrims (ll. 227–29). Then they roll up their sleeves and participate in the action: they carry water over the burning sand, and they sing hymns as their bare feet are cut to pieces by the stones (*laisses* 9–10, p. 40). However, when the battle is over, the king of Jerusalem watches the crusader camp and can see the ladies and the maidens dancing for joy (l. 1420). After another skirmish the women weep again, and call on God in loud voices to let the crusaders take Jerusalem, where they will be able to clean the Holy Sepulchre and make it beautiful (l. 2513).

The major appearance of the women has its counterpart in the women's battalion in the *Chanson d'Antioche*: their ranks are drawn up outside Jerusalem to fight not with arrows or lances, but to collect stones and pebbles to throw, and they prepare pots and barrels of water to carry for the relief of the men.[16] The woman who succeeds in the attack, they say, will be praised as a 'proudefeme' (a 'doughty woman': l. 3306). These are the roles which women in medieval armies actually performed, and which the audience of the poem would thus have expected them to have performed during a crusading siege.[17] This part of the

[16] *Laisse* 105, pp. 108–09; see also Susan B. Edgington, '"Sont çou ore les fems que jo voi la venir?" Women in the *Chanson d'Antioche*', in *Gendering the Crusades*, ed. by Edgington and Lambert, pp. 154–62.

[17] See, for example, Helen J. Nicholson, *Medieval Warfare: Theory and Practice of War in Europe, 300–1500* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), p. 63. For recent studies of the role of women in crusading, see Sabine Geldsetzer, *Frauen auf Kreuzzügen, 1096–1291* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2003); Christoph T. Maier, 'The Roles of Women in the Crusade Movement: A Survey', *Journal of Medieval History*, 30 (2004), 61–82; Natasha R. Hodgson, *Women, Crusading and the Holy Land in Historical Perspective* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2007); Conor Kostick, *The Social Structure of the First Crusade* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), pp. 271–85.

poem is organized very similarly to the scene in the *Chanson d'Antioche* where the crusaders ride out to the battle, and here the women are watched by Corbadas, king of Jerusalem, from the Tower of David. He asks who they are and his brother, Lucabel, replies that they are women. Corbadas says that he will have them taken to the Sultan, because the Sultan wants to restore his devastated territories. Each of the women will be given to a prince or emir to marry as they will (*laisse* 105, pp. 108–09). However, once the battle is under way, the women are to be found, as before, with their sleeves rolled up, carrying water to the men — if they had not been there, the poem says, the army would have been in great difficulty (ll. 3486–89). They evidently feel they have earned the right, a little later, to accuse the assailants of cowardice (ll. 3512–13), but when the doctors are tending the wounded, the ladies pick up their skirts and run about taking water again to those who need it (ll. 3538–40), and later still they are shouting encouragement to the men. In a later assault the women have the same roles: carrying water, supplying stones as missiles, and encouraging the men (*laisse* 135, p. 136). However, the inclusion of women virtually ceases with the capture of Jerusalem. This may be because the nature of the fighting changes. When the crusaders make a sortie to fight the Saracens, the city is left under the protection of clergy, women and veterans, but that is the limit of their involvement (ll. 8118–20).

The first glimpse of 'pagan' women juxtaposes their cowardice with the heroism of the female crusaders: Cornumaran's wives and concubines scatter when he is attacked by the chétifs (ll. 572–73, and see also l. 586). Inside Jerusalem, many beautiful 'pagan' women dressed in clinging silk are depicted mingling with the crowds outside the Temple in the hope of hearing the latest news (ll. 2935–37). When Jerusalem is taken these elegantly dressed women — whether sisters or wives or sweethearts — are abandoned by their men. They try to escape to the Tower of David but the Tafurs catch them and violate them (*laisse* 141, p. 143). Meanwhile the Christian women are able to worship and give thanks in the Temple (l. 4978).

In contrast to the anonymous group action of the Christian women and the anonymous passivity of their 'pagan' counterparts, there is an incident featuring a Bedouin woman during the capture of Jerusalem. She attacks the hero, Thomas of Marle, who has (if I read it correctly) used his lance to pole-vault over the wall. She hits him on the head with a cudgel, dislodges his helmet and fells him. He, however, has a talisman to protect him in such circumstances, and she bargains with him: if he will spare her life, she will tell him how he will meet his death — he will not die at the hands of the enemy, but will be killed by his own lord. He rewards her by cutting off her head (*laisse* 139, pp. 140–41). Arguably such a death by the sword is honourable, and — as Marianne Ailes has discussed in this

volume in relation to the character of Cornumaran — she is clearly too dangerous a foe to be allowed to live. But she is not permitted to rise to the level of a knight; we are never told her name.

At one point Godfrey of Bouillon is offered marriage to the sultan's daughter if he will convert, but he shows no interest in this incentive, and we never meet the young woman concerned (l. 6402). There is, in fact, no 'love interest' in this 'romance'. It is difficult not to feel that the Christian knights have more in common with their 'pagan' counterparts than with their own wives.

The Enemy Within?

But women are not the most alien group within the crusader camp. There are passing references to the poor and the 'petites gens' (for example, l. 4995), and deliberate mentions of the chétifs, used as a device to link this poem with the others in the cycle. However, the part they play is negligible in comparison with the Tafurs.[18] This group of crusaders, fearsome in appearance and quasi-autonomous under their own 'king', is as prominent in the poem as the crusader knights, or the 'pagan' enemy. The Tafurs appeared in the *Chanson d'Antioche*, where the emir of the city found them more awesome than any other battalion, and where they notoriously committed acts of cannibalism, as much for their psychological impact as for reasons of hunger. This cannibalism is frequently referred to in the *Chanson de Jérusalem* (ll. 6424; 6880; 7438; 8147).

The Tafurs' reputation makes them formidable from their first appearance in the *Chanson de Jérusalem*: there are 10,000 of them (*laisse* 66, pp. 74–75). These 'ribauds' do not wear conventional clothes of any kind, but hempen rags. They have long, dishevelled hair and faces as red as burning coals and their bare legs and feet are flayed. They are armed with cudgels and sticks, leaden maces, hammers, mattocks, sharp scythes, or axes. Their king carries an axe with which he could slice a man to the lungs. He does not wear robes of silk, but a tattered, shapeless sack, fixed at the neck with a chain of spurs. On his head he wears a garland of leaves and flowers. And he has no time for sermons. The Tafur king's superhuman strength is confirmed when he insists on leading the assault on Jerusalem in spite of thirty open wounds (*laisse* 97, p. 102).

[18] The only contemporary historian to mention the Tafurs is Guibert de Nogent: Guibert of Nogent, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, ed. by R. B. C. Huygens, in *Dei Gesta per Francos et cinq autres textes*, CCCM, 127A (Turnhout: Brepols, 1996), pp. 310–12.

It would be inaccurate to call the Tafurs anarchic, since they have their king, who is — incidentally — so much a force to be reckoned with that it is he who ultimately confers the crown of Jerusalem on Godfrey of Bouillon. The knights defer to him in matters of strategy and tactics, and he strikes fear into the hearts of friend and foe when wielding his axe or his scythe. But the Tafurs are the antithesis of the crusader knights, with their hierarchy and heraldry and chivalric honour, in a way that the 'pagans' are not. Their rape of the 'pagan' women has already been mentioned; on another occasion prisoners of war who refuse to apostasize are handed over to the Tafurs to be put to death (ll. 2579–80). The relationship between the Tafurs and conventional crusaders is never an easy one. During the assault on Jerusalem, Thomas of Marle begs to become the Tafur king's vassal and join his attack (*laisse* 136, p. 138): the reader will recall that the Bedouin witch warned him that his death would be at the hands of his lord. This makes sense when we remember that it was the Tafur king who rescued Thomas from her in the first place: she had actually seen him.

Conclusion

Thus, there are effectively three combatant armies in the *Chanson de Jérusalem*: knights, 'pagans', and 'Others'.[19] There are also the women, whose role lies between combatants and non-combatants: the Christian women play a vital and active supporting role in the crusaders' war-effort, and one Bedouin woman acts effectively against one Christian knight, but overall the women are kept firmly in a subordinate position. The bulk of the Muslim women are not permitted to take an active part in events; they are bystanders who become victims as a result of their menfolk's military failure. None of the women is named. Of the combatants, the knights and 'pagans' have far more in common than there are differences between them, and the language used to describe them reflects their common values as well as different belief systems. They have named horses with pedigrees, they carry heraldic devices on their banners, they share the warrior code of honour and courage on the battlefield. They are people with names. The

[19] The only character who moves freely between the three groups is Peter the Hermit, on whom see, for example, E. O. Blake and Colin Morris, 'A Hermit Goes to War: Peter and the Origins of the First Crusade', in *Monks, Hermits and the Ascetic Tradition*, ed. by W. J. Sheils, Studies in Church History, 22 (Oxford: Blackwell, 1985), pp. 440–53; Jean Flori, *Pierre L'Ermite et la première croisade* (Paris: Fayard, 1999); Jay Rubenstein, 'How, or How Much, to Reevaluate Peter the Hermit', in *The Medieval Crusade*, ed. by Susan Ridyard (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2004), pp. 53–69.

Greek general Tatikios is also described in similar terms; although as a Greek he is a schismatic Christian, he belongs to this group that shares warrior values. The true outsiders are the Tafurs, who are an effective and deadly military force, but whose value system is alien to the other groups, as it is to the poem's aristocratic audience. They do not have fine clothes or horses or proper weapons; they are characterized as grotesque and barbaric. Although they are allied with the crusaders, their disdain for the aristocratic value system sets them apart; they are allies who could too easily become a greater enemy than the 'pagans'. They have no names.

Crusaders in a Hall of Mirrors: The Portrayal of Saracens in Robert the Monk's *Historia Iherosolimitana*

Carol Sweetenham

This article explores the depiction of Saracens in the *Historia Iherosolimitana* of Robert the Monk.[1] Robert was a monk at the abbey of St-Rémi in Reims.[2] He wrote his history of the First Crusade early in the twelfth century, adapting his account from the anonymous *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, as did two other Benedictines, Baudry or Baldric of Bourgueil and Guibert of Nogent, and adding in other material, some of which reflects the style of *chansons de geste*.[3] He was an eyewitness to the Council of

[1] Robertus Monachus, *Historia Iherosolimitana*, in *Recueil des historiens des Croisades: Historiens occidentaux*, ed. by Académie Royale des inscriptions et belles-lettres, 5 vols (in 6) (Paris: Imprimerie royale, 1844–95), III (1866), 717–882; translated as *Robert the Monk's History of the First Crusade*, trans. by Carol Sweetenham (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005). References to the Latin text of Robert's work are by book and chapter number. This paper deals entirely with fictional portrayal of Islam and in no sense with the realities: I have used the term Saracen throughout to make this clear.

[2] *Robert the Monk's History of the First Crusade*, trans. by Sweetenham, 'Introduction', pp. 1–4. The reference to St-Rémi is in the *Sermo apologeticus* at the head of the work.

[3] *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum (The Deeds of the Franks and Other Pilgrims to Jerusalem)*, ed. and trans. by Rosalind Hill (London: Nelson, 1962); Baudry of Bourgueil, *Historia Jerosolimitana*, in *Recueil des historiens des Croisades: Historiens occidentaux*, ed. by Académie Royale des inscriptions et belles-lettres, 5 vols (in 6) (Paris: Imprimerie royale, 1844–95), IV (1866), 1–111; Guibert of Nogent, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, ed. by R. B. C. Huygens, in *Dei Gesta per Francos et cinq autres textes*, CCCM, 127A (Turnhout: Brepols, 1996). See also *The Deeds of God through the Franks: A Translation of Guibert de Nogent's Gesta Dei per Francos*, trans. by Robert Levine (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1997). The relationship between these texts has been much discussed: for starting points, see Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and*

Languages of Love and Hate: Conflict, Communication, and Identity in the Medieval Mediterranean, ed. by Sarah Lambert and Helen Nicholson, International Medieval Research, 15 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), 49–63 BREPOLS PUBLISHERS 10.1484/M.IMR-EB.1.101129

Clermont, but as far as we know did not go on Crusade. His account is of interest less for any original testimony than for his ability to organize his material into a compelling narrative in a style which owes much to the vernacular *chanson de geste*. In other words, he is a first-class storyteller. This is probably why his was the most popular account of the First Crusade by a factor of ten throughout the Middle Ages, surviving in over one hundred manuscripts.[4] It is also why the scholarship of the post-Second World War era dismissed him as not only derivative but, in Runciman's words, 'popular and somewhat romantic'.[5] This judgement underplayed the importance of Robert's work, which lies less in its account of the events of the Crusade than in its reflection of contemporary perceptions of them. More recent scholarship has reassessed Robert's book, recognizing the difficulty of making a fair evaluation of a work that circulated more widely and had more influence than any other narrative of the First Crusade, and seeking better to understand its cultural significance.[6]

Robert's depiction of Saracens is not original; it is drawn from existing literary conventions. Neither is their prominence as a theme in his text original: this is paralleled in other accounts of the Crusade, notably his main source the *Gesta Francorum*.[7] What is new and different is the use he makes of the conventional material. He shows the opposition between Christians and Saracens playing out on a number of levels: physical, spiritual, moral, and fictional. However, there are additional dimensions. Robert's work betrays a certain ambiguity about the events he describes. His depiction of the Saracens provides a mirror in which the doings of the Crusaders are reflected, legitimising them and yet creating a sense of unease. The text culminates with their use to reflect contemporary political reality.

This is of interest in exploring attitudes to Islam at a crucial formative time: the encounter of the First Crusade. It also says something about Robert's considerable skill as a literary craftsman. Arguably it is precisely because he makes such

the Idea of Crusading (London: Athlone, 1986), pp. 135–52; *Robert the Monk's History of the First Crusade*, trans. by Sweetenham, pp. 4–6. New editions of Robert's and Baudry's histories are now being produced by Marcus Bull, Damien Kempf, and Steven Biddlecombe as part of a project funded by the UK's Arts and Humanities Research Council at the University of Bristol.

[4] *Robert the Monk's History of the First Crusade*, trans. by Sweetenham, pp. 8–9.

[5] Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951–54), I, 330.

[6] Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading*, pp. 135–52; *Robert the Monk's History of the First Crusade*, trans. by Sweetenham, pp. 28–68; and see the forthcoming research of Bull, Kempf, and Biddlecombe.

[7] See *Robert the Monk's History of the First Crusade*, trans. by Sweetenham, pp. 12–27.

imaginative use of his Saracen material that he has been dismissed — unfairly — as more fanciful and less reliable than other chronicles of the Crusade.

How to Describe a Saracen in the Twelfth Century

The literary conventions for depicting Saracens have been well explored.[8] By the early twelfth century, Saracen incursions into France were a distant memory: the nearest Saracens were in Spain, and although there was contact with Islam through military campaigns in the Iberian Peninsula and elsewhere in the Mediterranean, and through trade, the average inhabitant of northern France had no direct experience of Saracens. So the fear provoked by direct experience of Saracen opponents had faded into something safer and more fictionalized.

In literary convention, as reflected in *chansons de geste*, the role of a Saracen had by this time come to be what a Christian is not: their sole function is to be 'Other'. Rather like the Martian of science fiction, Saracens could take on whatever form was required to serve the purposes of the author: 'the Saracen element might just as well be made up of invaders from outer space, for all the authors care about authenticity'.[9] They could be grotesque to contrast with Christian good looks; cowardly to contrast with Christian valour; or diabolical in direct contrast to Christian knights under God's protection. Equally they could be brave to underscore Christian bravery in defeating them, or to explain a (rare)

[8] For starting points, see John V. Tolan, *Sons of Ishmael: Muslims through European Eyes in the Middle Ages* (Gainsville: University Press of Florida, 2008); and John V. Tolan, *Saracens: Islam in the Medieval European Imagination* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002); Lynn Tarte Ramey, *Christian, Saracen and Genre in Medieval French Literature: Imagination and Cultural Interaction in the French Middle Ages* (New York: Routledge, 2001); Jean Flori, 'En marge de l'idée de guerre sainte: L'image des musulmans dans la mentalité populaire en Occident (XI^e–XII^e siècles)', in *L'Occident musulman et l'Occident chrétien au moyen âge*, ed. by Mohammed Hammam (Rabat: Faculté des Lettres et des Sciences Humaines, 1995), pp. 209–21; and Jean Flori, 'La caricature de l'Islam dans l'occident médieval: origine et signification de quelques stéreotypes concernant l'Islam', *Aevum: Rassegna di szienze storiche, linguistiche e filologiche*, 66 (1992), 245–56; Philippe Sénac, *L'Image de l'autre: Histoire de l'occident médieval face à l'Islam* (Paris: Flammarion, 1983); older but still useful, R. W. Southern, *Western Views of Islam in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1962). On images of Saracens in *chansons de geste*, see Norman Daniel, *Heroes and Saracens: An Interpretation of the Chansons de Geste* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1984); and Norman Daniel, *Islam and the West: The Making of an Image*, rev. edn (Oxford: Oneworld, 1993); Paul Bancourt, *Les Musulmans dans les chansons de geste du Cycle du Roi*, 2 vols (Aix-en-Provence: Université de Provence, 1982).

[9] Daniel, *Heroes and Saracens*, p. 268.

defeat; and they could be exotic and glamorous to add interest.[10] The features of the created image changed and shifted to reflect the context, but the essential otherness was unchanged.[11]

The First Crusade brought the West sharply up against the reality of Islam, not only in the direct experiences of the Crusaders but in the accounts of the Crusade which were to follow and which were widely publicized.[12] Such contact was not of course new. The steadily receding Moslem frontier in Spain provided a context for encounters between Moslem and Christian.[13] And pilgrims had made their way to the Holy Land ever since the time of the Empress Helena in the fourth century AD: Count Fulk Nerra of Anjou travelled three times at the start of the eleventh century, and Robert of Normandy, father of King William I of England, went on pilgrimage in 1034.[14] What was new, arguably, was the fusion of the two aspects of justified war and pilgrimage.[15] Saracens became the direct obstacle to reaching the earthly and spiritual paradise of Jerusalem, embodiments of opposition to Christianity. What was also new was the sheer impact of the Crusade and the accompanying explosion of accounts, eyewitness and other: 'the First Crusade united observers in astonishment, admiration and awe'.[16] Saracens were no longer a reality only to a few: through the accounts of the Crusade, written and oral, they became a reality, albeit at second hand, to many.[17]

[10] See, for example, Barbara P. Edmonds, 'Le Portrait des Sarrasins dans la *Chanson de Roland*', *French Review*, 44 (1971), 870–81; E. Schulze-Busacker, 'French Conceptions of Foreigners and Foreign Languages in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', *Romanische Philologie*, 41 (1987–88), 24–47.

[11] K. Brownlee, 'Cultural Comparison: Crusade as Construct in Late Medieval French Literature', *Esprit Créateur*, 32.3 (1992), 13–24: 'the basic phenomenon of cultural self-definition [...] remains, as it were, a constant. But the specific terms are continually unstable' (p. 23).

[12] See *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, bk XI, chap. 12, ed. and trans. by Marjorie Chibnall, 6 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969–78), VI, 68–71, describing Bohemond's self-promotion: 'ubique tam a clero quam a plebe venerabiliter susceptus referebat varios eventus quibus ipse interfuit' (everywhere he was honourably received by both clergy and people, and related the various adventures in which he had played a part' (Chibnall's translation)).

[13] See, for example, Bernard F. Reilly, *The Medieval Spains* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 90–128.

[14] David C. Douglas, *William the Conqueror* (London: Eyre Methuen, 1964), p. 35.

[15] E. O. Blake, 'The Formation of the Crusade Idea', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 21 (1970), 11–31.

[16] Christopher Tyerman, *The Invention of the Crusades* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998), p. 99.

[17] On depiction of Saracens in First Crusade chronicles, see John V. Tolan, 'Muslims as Pagan Idolaters in Chronicles of the First Crusade', in *Western Views of Islam in Medieval*

However, the reality did not displace the image. Instead the two coexisted. In the words of Norman Daniel, 'authenticity was itself no sufficient safeguard against fantasy'.[18] The image of the Saracen was fictional: it could mutate to whatever form suited the author's purpose. So it could adapt seamlessly to include where needed realistic depictions of Saracens alongside the imaginary Orderic Vitalis gives a detailed account of the Crusade drawn from Baudry of Bourgueil; he includes alongside it a (presumably fictional) tale of the Crusade leader Bohemond being rescued from captivity by a Saracen princess, an early version of a long-running theme.[19] Saracens could provide an external angle on Christian society in whatever way the author chose.

Twelfth-century historians in general saw no incongruity in using poetic and popular material alongside eyewitness testimony.[20] Equally, writers of epic liked to claim a written source: the *geste* apparently written by Turold and cited by the author of the *Roland* is a famous example.[21] So the boundary between truth and fiction was drawn in a different place from what modern historiography would find acceptable.

Saracens in First Crusade Sources

What modern audiences might see as a blurring of fact and fiction is well evidenced in sources for the First Crusade. Much of Robert's Saracen material in fact comes directly from his source, the *Gesta Francorum*. His three main characters are all found there: Soliman, based on Kilij Arslan Sultan of Rum; Kerbogha, the

and Early Modern Europe: Perception of Other, ed. by David R. Blanks and Michael Frassetto (New York: St Martin's, 1999), pp. 97–117; S. Loutschitskaja, 'L'image des musulmans dans les chroniques des croisades', *Moyen âge*, 105 (1999), 717–35; Jean Flori, '*Oriens horribilis*: Tares et défauts d'Orient dans les sources rélatives à la première croisade', in *Orient und Okzident in der Kultur des Mittelalters/Monde oriental et monde occidental dans la culture médiévale: XXXI Jahrestagung des Arbeitskreises 'Deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters', Greifswald/Deutschland-Allemagne, Ajaccio/Corsica, 25–29 September 1996*, ed. by Danielle Buschinger and Wolfgang Spiewok (Greifswald: Reineke, 1997), pp. 45–56.

[18] Daniel, *Heroes and Saracens*, p. 270

[19] *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, bk X, chap. 24, ed. and trans. by Chibnall, V, 358–79. For the theme, see F. M. Warren, 'The Enamoured Moslem Princess in Orderic Vitalis and the French Epic', *PMLA*, 29 (1914), 341–58; and see the discussions of this theme by Marianne Ailes and by Helen Nicholson in this volume.

[20] See, for example, the discussion by Nancy F. Partner, *Serious Entertainments: The Writing of History in Twelfth-Century England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977).

[21] *La Chanson de Roland*, ed. by Ian Short (Paris: Livre de Poche, 1990), l. 4002.

atabeg or hereditary governor of Mosul, sent with a relieving army to Antioch; and Clemens, a heavily fictionalized portrayal combining al-Mustali, the Fatimid Caliph of Egypt, with his vizier al-Afdal Shananshah. The *Gesta Francorum* gives speeches for all three and a sequence of events linked with Kerbogha at Antioch, which Robert follows closely.[22] Robert was not alone in adopting this material. His contemporaries Baudry and Guibert also included it in their adaptations of the *Gesta*.[23] Other non *Gesta*-derived sources show a similar use of what we would regard as fictional material. Albert of Aachen, for example, seems to have used early epic sources in compiling his chronicle, and his style shows similarities with contemporary epics such as the *Chanson de Roland*. [24]

Robert's work has been seen as less reliable than other Crusade sources because of his use of the conventions of the *chanson de geste*. However, the above survey shows that he is hardly unique in doing so. A clear tradition laid down how Saracens should be portrayed, which spanned the border between history and fiction. Other sources for the Crusade made abundant use of this material. So there is nothing out of the ordinary in Robert's inclusion of abundant material drawing on Saracen stereotypes, or in the stereotypes he uses. What is new is the use he makes of it to mirror the realities of the Crusade and contemporary politics.

Robert's Depiction of Saracens (i): Reality Refracted through Convention

Robert's Saracens take on a wide variety of roles, depending on the context at the time. The only unifying factor is their otherness, acting as a foil to the Christians. Broadly speaking, this otherness is portrayed in four ways: physical, spiritual, moral, and literary. Within each, the depiction moves seamlessly between the fictional and the realistic with no sense of incongruity. The stereotypes are those common from the *chanson de geste* and the culture from which it sprang.

[22] *Gesta Francorum*, ed. and trans. by Hill, pp. 22, 49–56, 96–7.

[23] Compare, for example, Guibert of Nogent's version, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, ed. by Huygens, pp. 212–16.

[24] Susan B. Edgington, 'Albert of Aachen and the *Chansons de Geste*', in *The Crusades and their Sources: Essays Presented to Bernard Hamilton*, ed. by John France and William J. Zajac (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), pp. 23–37; C. Minis, 'Stilelemente in der Kreuzzugschronik des Albert von Aachen und in der volksprachigen Epik, besonders in der *Chanson de Roland*', in *Literatur und Sprache im Europäischen Mittelalter: Festschrift für Karl Langosch zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. by Alf Önnerfors, Johannes Rathofer, and Fritz Wagner (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1973), pp. 356–63.

Physically, Robert's Saracens show consistent features. There are a great many of them, generally outnumbering the Christians by a factor of at least ten (VI. 15, VII. 4). They behave like animals: they grind their teeth (IV. 15, IV. 21) and bark like dogs (IV. 15, a common insult; VI. 8). Often they are compared to animals: to ravening beasts (I. 6), to frightened game (III. 19, VII. 10), or, vividly, to flies on rotting meat (VII. 12): they are slaughtered like beasts in an abattoir (VII. 14) or cut down like a subhuman crop (IV. 20) on the bridge at Antioch. Rather startlingly, they are criticized for being fat (VII. 14). Much of this can be paralleled from the *chansons de geste*: thus 'gloton' is a common criticism and comparison of Saracens to dogs is a common topos.[25] However, alongside it runs an element of realism about their tactics and behaviour. Several times Robert provides an accurate description of their battle tactics, as they use their superior agility to surround and pick off Christians: we see this at the battle of Dorylaeum (III. 9), at Tripoli (VIII. 17) and in the ambush of the crusader Roger of Barneville (VI. 8). After the fall of the city of Antioch to the crusade army there is a perceptible change of tone in Book VIII. The Saracens are shown as ready to negotiate and the metaphors are replaced by descriptions of civilian massacre and deserted cities. However, Book IX returns to the tone of the rest.

Morally, Robert also depicts the Saracens with a consistent set of traits. They are cowardly (III. 4, VII. 4). In his description of Soliman after the defeat at Dorylaeum Robert raises cowardice to a level of high farce: Soliman falls to the ground in abject terror, and the Arab force sent to stiffen his resolve flees immediately on hearing his experiences. They are treacherous and underhand (III. 18, IV. 1): Soliman's forces gain castles by lying about the strength of their forces. Their word cannot be trusted, as proved by the murder of Walo, an otherwise insignificant Christian soldier, during the truce at Antioch. And whilst Pirrus, whose negotiations with Bohemond enabled the latter to capture Antioch, is praised for his betrayal of the city, it is nevertheless a betrayal. They are also stupid (IV. 6). On occasion they show an inventive level of malice (I. 10, VI. 7). They are sometimes guilty of atrocities: the most extended development of this theme by far is however in the account Robert gives of Pope Urban II's speech at Clermont (I. 1), not recurring significantly elsewhere in the text. The portraits of the two leaders Kerbogha and Clemens make great play of their pride and bombast. Their wealth

[25] Daniel, *Heroes and Sarcens*, p. 107; and Bancourt, *Les Musulmans dans les chansons de geste*, pp. 50–51. For Saracens as dogs see, for example, the *Canso d'Antioca* describing the ferocious Agulani: 'ans larco coma chas' (they bark like dogs): *The 'Canso d'Antioca': An Occitan Epic Chronicle of the First Crusade*, ed. by Linda M. Paterson and Carol E. Sweetenham (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), l. 321.

is referred to repeatedly (III. 15, VII. 17, IX. 22) although there is little depiction of avarice: the only references here are implied when Kerbogha's pre-battle orders are about safeguarding his treasure, compared with the papal legate Adhemar's pre-battle sermon (VII. 9, 10), and by Clemens's concern about the money he has wasted (IX. 21). There is little positive about the Saracens. The few occasions where they are seen in a good light coincide with conversion (V. 10, VII. 18, VIII. 19), whilst the occasional defeat of the Christians or brave action is followed up instantly with defeat (IV. 18, VIII. 12). There is, however, a certain measure of sympathy for the fear and repeated slaughter of Saracen civilians (III. 5, VIII. 7, IX. 8): the description at the fall of Antioch remains chilling even now (VI. 2).

Spiritually the status of the Saracens is quite clear. They embody in the most literal sense the opposite to Christianity. They are enemies of Christ (I. 3, III. 14). They are literally diabolical (IX. 20). The Emir of Babylon, Clemens, is explicitly compared with the Devil (IX. 16). Saracen resistance crumples in the face of God's help (III. 14). They consort with apostates: successfully at the fortress of Civetot, unsuccessfully at the battle of Antioch: both apostates receive short shrift, with the former crusader leader Rainald consigned to Hell and the Occitan apostate beheaded in a fit of rage (I. 9; VII. 9). They are positively described only when they agree to convert (V. 10, VII. 18). There is no serious depiction of Islam: Muhammad is invoked on occasion (IV. 22, VI. 10, VII. 9) and Clemens rejects him implicitly in a scene familiar from the *chansons de geste* (IX. 21).[26]

In literary terms, the Saracens act as the counterpoise to the Christians. This is hardly surprising in a text about the First Crusade. But Robert makes full use of the contrast to bring depth and texture to his work. Most of the time the Saracens exist solely to define and act as opposite to the Christians, with sharply contrasting behaviour: Saracen cowardice against Christian valour, Saracen idolatry against the success engendered by Divine favour. On occasion this becomes sharply visual: Kerbogha emerges dramatically from a cloud of dust ready to relieve the siege of Antioch (VI. 7). Structurally Robert builds his chronicle around confrontation with three Saracens in succession: the battle with the Arab Soliman at Dorylaeum in the first three books, the negotiations with and defeat of the Turk Kerbogha at Antioch in the second three books and Book VII, and the climactic defeat of the Emir of Babylon at the end of the last three books. Each of the three Saracens is made to look ridiculous: hubris pricked by defeat is exacerbated by abject cowardice (Soliman), bombast (Kerbogha) or complaint about the money lost in going to war (Clemens). This contrasts with the generally favourable portrayal

[26] Daniel, *Heroes and Saracens*, pp. 167–73; see, for example, *Orson de Beauvais*, ed. by Jean-Pierre Martin, Classiques français du moyen âge, 140 (Paris: Champion, 2002), ll. 1499–1501.

of the Christian leaders. On occasion the Saracens are portrayed not as screaming devils or cowards fit only for mass slaughter but as quasi-feudal opponents: this is particularly evident in the visit from the envoys of the Emir of Babylon (v. 1–2) and in the negotiations with Kerbogha (vii. 5–7).[27] Intriguingly, the narrative between the fall of Antioch and the arrival at Jerusalem is also notably more nuanced and realistic in its portrayal of Saracens: negotiations are on equal terms (viii. 9, ix. 12) and the insults levelled at Saracens elsewhere in the text are less evident. Interestingly here also is the only reference to Saracens in classical terms, as Parthians (viii. 3).[28]

Robert's direct portrayal of Saracens is therefore skilful and multi-layered. It shifts according to the needs of his story, and depicts them in a variety of roles, shifting seamlessly between realism and fantasy.

Robert's Depiction of Saracens (ii): Reflecting the Crusade

However, there is more to Robert's Saracens than meets the eye. His portrayal takes the use of the conventions about Saracens a stage further, using it as a mirror to reflect back the values of the Crusade. Such a mirroring technique is found in embryo in the *chansons de geste*: Saracen valour is used to emphasize the impressiveness of Christian victory or the superior attractiveness of Christianity.[29] Robert develops this with considerable subtlety. Sometimes he uses it to legitimize the Christian cause through Saracen comments and actions. But he also uses it more ambiguously, to suggest criticism of the Crusaders' behaviour which he prefers not to spell out.

Robert repeatedly uses this mirroring technique to underline the power of Christianity and the rightness of the Crusaders' cause. Thus the miraculous intervention of the ghostly forces, something Robert refers to repeatedly (v. 8, vii. 13, vii. 18) is authenticated by the impact it has on the Saracens: not only do they see the ghostly forces but they surrender as a result and seek conversion. The long speech of Kerbogha's mother sets out the underpinning doctrine of

[27] See Daniel, *Heroes and Saracens*, pp. 23–46, on the Saracens portrayed in chivalric terms; compare, for example, the description of Blancandrin's court at the beginning of *Roland*.

[28] See Daniel, *Heroes and Saracens*, p. 263, on links between Saracens and pagans of the ancient world.

[29] See, for example, Daniel, *Heroes and Saracens*, pp. 247–49, on *Partonopeus de Blois*: the Saracens 'provide the standard against which the hero's prowess is measured'; famously, the *Chanson de Roland* states of a Muslim warrior: 'fust chrestïens, asez oüst barnét' (he would be a truly valiant man if he were Christian) (l. 899).

Christian supremacy and legitimizes it by showing that even its opponents accept their own inferiority (VI. 12).

Robert also emphasizes the Crusaders' bravery as seen through Saracen eyes and actions. At IV. 21, Saracen pride is punctured by Christian victory. At V. 1–2, we see the Christians through the eyes of the envoys from the emir of Babylon as idealized warriors straight from the *chanson de geste*. Sensadolus, the son of the recently-dead king of Antioch, elaborates on their invincibility (VI. 9).

However, there is a more ambiguous side to this technique. Robert's work, like that of his contemporaries, is shot through with the tension between an ideology of Christian superheroism and the reality of behaviour, which was often a good deal less than heroic.[30] Sometimes he tries to explain it by force of circumstances: for example, the flight of William the Carpenter, Viscount of Melun , from the siege of Antioch (IV. 12) is rather tortuously ascribed to his inability to cope with starvation. But on occasion Robert betrays a deep unease about the behaviour he is forced to portray as a chronicler. With one rather startling exception (which may be an interpolation) he does not criticize directly.[31] But he reflects back using Saracens as his mirror, with a reflection which is often unflattering.

More than once Robert suggests some unease with the violence of the Crusade against civilians. This is depicted — indeed how else? — by showing them as passive victims of violence. But Robert personalizes their sufferings: the violence at the fall of Antioch is illustrated by indiscriminate slaughter of non-combatants and Robert specifies that none of them put up any resistance (VI. 2). At the fall of the city of Ma-arrat-an-Nu'man the same theme of violence against unresisting civilians is linked to two further themes: treachery and atrocities (VIII. 7). Bohemond sells into slavery civilians to whom he has promised safe conduct; and the Christians cut open the corpses of Turks to extract gold coins. The point is underlined by comparing the Crusaders to a wild beast, a lioness. All these — savagery, treachery, atrocities, and comparisons to beasts — are common features of the *chanson de geste* Saracen.[32]

The Saracens are on occasion made to voice this unease about the Crusaders. Soliman's description (III. 17) emphasizes their cruelty, their infinite numbers, their diabolical origin, and their likeness to wild beasts. Clemens (IX. 21) asserts

[30] For the Crusade as 'a monastery in motion', see Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading*, p. 150.

[31] See his comment on Bohemond, at VIII. 15, and my note on my translation, suggesting this may be a *marginalium* incorporated into the text.

[32] See Bancourt, *Les Musulmans dans les chansons de geste*, pp. 76–9, for Saracens portrayed like wild animals; pp. 156–95 for savagery and atrocities; pp. 281–89 for treachery.

luridly that they come straight from Hell. All of this could equally describe Saracen forces.

At one point in the text a Saracen is used as a direct foil to a Christian: the complex relationship of Bohemond and the apostate Pirrus who betrayed Antioch to him (v. 8–14). Pirrus is a Saracen who commits an act of gross treachery: there should be nothing admirable about him. However Robert develops his character in a way found in no other text. He shows Pirrus debating Christian theology and ultimately converting in terms taken straight from the Gospels, keeping firmly to the promise he had given Bohemond. Bohemond by contrast is ambiguously portrayed. There is a hint that he wins Pirrus over by unscrupulous charm. He fails to turn up at the crucial moment, letting Pirrus down, with an implication that he has been womanising.[33] Pirrus, by contrast — the Saracen guilty of treachery — is singled out as an example of good faith. The tables are turned in the traditional comparison.

So Robert uses and subverts the traditional portrayal of the Saracen to hint at his unease about some of the Crusaders' actions. He is careful always to stop short of outright criticism: even the despoiling of the corpses at Ma'arrat-an-Nu'man is ascribed to love of money. But his ambivalence is clear.

Robert's Depiction of Saracens (III): Mirroring the Contemporary

At the end of his text, Robert takes his mirroring technique a stage further: rather than simply reflecting back the behaviour of the Christians, the Saracens become the means of comment on a contemporary political situation in the person of Clemens, the Emir of Babylon who is defeated at the battle of Ascalon.

The basic situation is not Robert's invention: the Emir, the battle, and the speech are all in his source the *Gesta Francorum*.[34] The Emir is distantly based on al-Afdal, the vizier, and Fatimid ruler of Egypt.[35] Similarly Robert's identification of Babylon with Cairo was not new. Babylon was seen as synonymous with Cairo: the main fortress within Cairo dating back to at least Roman times is still known as Fort Babylon.[36]

[33] See my comments in *Robert the Monk's History of the First Crusade*, trans. by Sweetenham, p. 145.

[34] *Gesta Francorum*, ed. and trans. by Hill, pp. 96–7.

[35] See Runciman, *A History*, I, 295–97; Thomas Asbridge, *The First Crusade: A New History* (London: Free, 2004), pp. 323–26.

[36] For identification of Cairo and Babylon see, for example, *Gesta Francorum*, ed. and

What is Robert's own is the building up of the Emir as a character throughout Book IX, bolstered by the foreshadowing by his envoys which builds on a passing reference in the *Gesta*;[37] and the rhetorical embroidery of the speech, a *tour de force* of bombast and bathos. In particular Robert is unique in naming the Emir Clemens, something not paralleled in any other text[38]. This is an unusual name for a Saracen. Generally their names are either fantastic or diabolical, marking them out from their Christian opposite numbers.[39] And Robert emphasizes the name repeatedly, on three occasions referring gleefully to 'Clemens [...] demens' (IX. 13, 20, 21). The longstanding identification of Babylon as the home of the Antichrist, the Whore of Babylon, and symbolic opposite to Jerusalem helped Robert ensure the most damning portrayal possible of Clemens.[40]

The key to this portrait of Clemens lies in contemporary politics. By this stage the investiture contest between Gregory VII and Henry IV was some way in the past. But the Antipope Wibert of Ravenna, whose position had resulted from the schism in 1080, was a much more recent memory. As Antipope he had taken the name Clemens III. Although he had died in 1101, a few years before Robert

trans. by Hill, pp. 93, 96–97; *Gesta Dei per Francos*, ed. by Hugens: 'Babilonicus imperator' (VII. 1; p. 271, l. 147), 'Babilonicus princeps' (VII. 44; p. 344, l. 2020); William of Malmesbury distinguished ancient Babylon from Babylon in Egypt, which he describes as built by Cambyses on the site of Taphnis: *Gesta Regum Anglorum: The History of the English Kings*, ed. and trans. by. R. A. B. Mynors, completed by Rodney Thomson and Michael Winterbottom, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998–99), I (1999), 371.

[37] *Robert the Monk's History of the First Crusade*, trans. by Sweetenham, V. 1–2; *Gesta Francorum*, ed. and trans. by Hill, p. 42.

[38] Except the *Anonymi Rhenani Historia et Gesta Ducis Gotefridi*, in *Recueil des historiens des Croisades: Historiens occidentaux*, ed. by Académie Royale des inscriptions et belles-lettres, 5 vols (in 6) (Paris: Imprimerie royale, 1844–95), V (1895), 437–524): according to the editors of the *Recueil*, this is an early fifteenth-century text which closely follows Robert and other sources, and therefore hardly qualifies as contemporary testimony.

[39] Compare, for example, the fantastical list of Saracens given by the *Chanson d'Antioche*, ed. Suzanne Duparc-Quioc, 2 vols (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1976–78), ll. 9015–26, which includes Pharaoh, various Old Testament characters, Tenebrois and Noirons and the Red Lion. Saracens in the *Roland* rejoice in names like Abisme, Malquiant, and Escababi. Neither Ernest Langlois, *Table des noms propres de toute nature compris dans les chansons de geste* (Paris: Bouillon, 1904), nor André Moisan, *Répertoire des noms propres de personnes et de lieux cités dans les chansons de geste francaises et les œuvres étrangères dérivées*, 5 vols (Genève: Droz, 1986), offer any close parallels.

[40] See Richard K. Emmerson, *Antichrist in the Middle Ages: A Study of Medieval Apocalypticism, Art and Literature* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1981). The twelfth-century church of St Pierre at Chauvigny (Vienne) has a capital with a graphic depiction of Babylon as whore.

wrote, he had been an uncompromising opponent of Urban II throughout his Papacy.[41] In the words of Colin Morris, 'For Urban the central religious problem in his dealings with the Empire was the schism with Clement III'.[42] Urban had been Abbot of Cluny, and his preaching of the Crusade was closely associated with the Benedictines:[43] Robert himself was from the large Benedictine abbey of St Rémi at Reims and his fellow writers Guibert and Baudry were also Benedictine.[44]

So, naming the greatest enemy of the Christians Clemens carried some very clear overtones, and Robert is unsparing in his treatment of the character. Clemens is bombastic and ridiculous: he refuses to listen to bad news, is wildly overconfident, and shows an unbecoming concern with wealth despite his limitless possessions (IX. 18, 21). He is, of course, resoundingly defeated, regardless of how much he has spent to win. More trenchantly, he is explicitly portrayed as an instrument of the Devil, jealous of Christian success (IX. 13). As king of Babylon, he is the implacable opponent of the Holy City: he whips himself into a frenzy of hatred for Jerusalem, describing it in terms generally reserved for Babylon (IX. 21). It would not of course have escaped Robert's audience that Babylon was widely regarded as the abode of the Antichrist.[45]

More subtly, Clemens is contrasted with Pope Urban II. Robert's chronicle begins with a long speech by Urban II launching the Crusade; the lament by

[41] See Gerd Tellenbach, *Church, State and Christian Society at the Time of the Investiture Contest*, trans. by R. F. Bennett (Oxford: Blackwell, 1959); Colin Morris, *The Papal Monarchy: The Western Church from 1050 to 1250* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), pp. 121–26; Jürgen Ziese, *Wibert von Ravenna: Der Gegenpapst Clemens III* (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1982). For the reflection of the contest in contemporary literature, see I. S. Robinson, *Authority and Resistance in the Investiture Contest: The Polemical Literature of the late Eleventh Century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1978), particularly pp. 173–74. Fulcher of Chartres describes the struggle as part of the preliminaries to the Crusade: *Fulcheri Carnotensis Historia Hierosolymitana (1095–1127)*, ed. by H. Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg: Winter, 1913), bk I. chap. 5; *Fulcher of Chartres: A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem*, ed. by Harold S. Fink, trans, by Frances R. Ryan (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1969).

[42] Morris, *Papal Monarchy*, p. 123.

[43] H. E. J. Cowdrey, 'Cluny and the First Crusade', *Revue bénédictine*, 83 (1973), 285–311; I. S. Robinson, *The Papacy, 1073–1198: Continuity and Innovation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 213.

[44] See Riley-Smith, *The First Crusade and the Idea of Crusading*, pp. 135–52.

[45] See Robinson, *Authority and Resistance*, p. 140, for the contrast of Jerusalem and Babylon as part of investiture polemic; pp. 173–74 for depiction of Wibert by Urban's supporters as the Beast of the Apocalypse.

Clemens marking the final defeat of the Saracens, nearly as long, is virtually at the end (I. 1–2; IX. 21). Urban's speech is authenticated by Robert himself as eyewitness; Clemens's speech is authenticated by the only other eyewitness in the chronicle, a rather unconvincing apostate. The themes of the two texts mirror each other: Urban describes Saracen atrocities in lurid terms paralleled by Clemens's hysterical description of the Christians; Jerusalem is at the heart of both, with Urban vowing the liberation of the Holy Sepulchre and Clemens its destruction. But the contrast is stark. Urban addresses so many supporters that no room is large enough to hold them, and his speech is greeted by unanimous support and acclamation; Clemens's speech is addressed to a fleeing and dying army who curse him with their last breath. Urban's speech is a model of eloquence; Clemens's is delivered in a trembling voice. God moves Urban's audience to respond; Clemens's deity Mahommed has deserted him. The contrast between the Pope and his opponent is sharply drawn, and provides the frame for Robert's entire chronicle.

It is no coincidence that Robert names his character Clemens. His description simultaneously underlines the legitimacy of Urban II as Pope and undermines Clemens III, the Antipope. As a Benedictine chronicler Robert's concern was not simply to support the Pope; it was to support a leading Cluniac and deny any claim to legitimacy by a rival. To the roles outlined earlier for Saracens — physical, moral, spiritual, and fictional — is thus added another: acting as a mirror in which Robert reflects contemporary political attitudes.

Conclusion

Robert's depiction of the Saracens draws heavily both on his sources and on the conventional stereotypes. He knows and uses the conventions: their atrocities towards Christians, their identification with the Antichrist and the fantastical conventions of the *chanson de geste*. All these are seamlessly woven into his text, moving smoothly between the realities experienced by the Crusaders and the fictional world of the Saracen.

However, whilst his descriptions may not be new, the use he makes of them goes well beyond the conventional. He adds depth to his text by using the Saracens as a mirror to legitimize the doctrines of the Crusade. He also uses them to reflect ambiguities about some of the less savoury Christian conduct which is implied but never stated. At the end of the text this mirroring is pushed to its logical conclusion: Pope Urban's position is sharply contrasted with the Emir of Babylon combining the roles of physical opponent, spiritual opponent as the leader of Babylon, and political opponent evoking the Antipope Clement III.

This reminds us why Robert's account of the Crusade was so popular. He tells a good story in terms immediately recognisable to his audience, underpinned by a sharp intelligence in the way he uses his material. This is particularly evident in the way he uses and subverts existing conventions about Saracens. It is here rather than in the events he portrays that his originality and value lie. Perhaps it is no surprise both that his version of the Crusade was by far the most popular of the Middle Ages; and that it should play less well with a modern audience which draws different boundaries between fact and fiction. Good stories need good villains, and Robert's villains are very good indeed.

Translation, Citation, and Ridicule: Renart the Fox and Crusading in the Vernacular

Sarah Lambert

'Signum est quod se ipsum sensui et praeter se aliquid animo ostendit'.[1]

'Lord king, take your rag,
And my God confound the joker
Who burdened me with this scrap
And the pilgrim's staff and bag.'
He turned his tail towards the beasts
And threw it at their heads
Saying to the king loudly,
'Lord, listen to me!
Nur ad Din sends you greetings
Through me the good pilgrim;
All the pagans are in such fear
That they are all running away!'[2]

This extract from the late twelfth-century story of Renart the Fox, in which he subjects the quasi-sacramental act of taking the cross to derision, suggests an alternative reading of many of the key signs, both physical and linguistic, of the discourse of the crusades in the Middle Ages. The *Renart* collection of satirical animal stories probably began life as Latin

[1] 'A sign is something that shows itself to the senses and something other than itself to the mind': St Augustine of Hippo, *De dialectica*, ed. by Jan Pinborg, trans. by Darrell Jackson (Dordrecht: Reidel, 1975), p. 86.

[2] 'Danz rois, tenés votre drapel! | Que Dex confonde le musel | Qui m'encombra de ceste frepe | Et del bordon et de l'escrepe!' | Son cul en tert voiant les bestes, | Puis si lor jete sor les testes. | En haut parole et dit au roi: | 'Sire', fet il, 'entandés moi! | Saluz te mande Noradins | Par moi qui suis bons pelerins, | Se te crement le paien tuit | A pou que chacuns ne s'en fuit.' (*Le Roman de Renart édité d'après les manuscripts C et M*, ed. by Naoyuki Fukumoto, Noboru Harano, and Satoro Suzuki, 2 vols (Tokyo: France Tosho, 1983–85), I, 232, ll. 7171–82). Unless otherwise stated, all subsequent citations of the *Roman de Renart* are from this edition.

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approximations of Aesop's fables, brought up to date and translated into the new proto-literary vernacular French for a medieval audience sometime in or before the twelfth century, and incorporating as well as the classical beast material, additional elements drawn from epic, romance, and from the academic writings of theologians.

The various branches of the old French 'translations' or adaptations of the classical beast fables survive today only as thirteenth century and later manuscripts, but were almost certainly written down, in something like their extant form, between *c*. 1170 and 1200. Within those limits, the chronology of the various compositions, adaptations, and amalgamations is much harder to establish. Whereas late nineteenth-century opinion regarded these tales as a species of 'folk' story, in second decade of the twentieth century the French scholar Lucien Foulet was largely responsible for reinterpreting them as 'literature', incorporating them into the canon of vernacular literary texts, and trying to tease out some of the relationships between them. However, his chronology, which is still largely followed today, is based entirely on internal evidence. Conclusions have been built on references within one tale to events supposed to have happened in others. This ignores the problems inherent in a widely circulating, multi-authored, rambling collection, committed to writing by person or persons unknown over nearly a century. In addition, as Foulet's ordering matches none of the extant manuscript collections, it does some violence to modern historical principles.[3]

Within this corpus, Renart continually plays the role of anti-hero and trickster, teetering constantly on the edge of disaster, and repeatedly redeeming his position by ever more outrageous deceits and betrayals.[4] By drawing on words, ideas, and images from a wide range of genres and re-sighting them in anthropomorphic tales, the *Roman de Renart* subverts the symbolic systems of the Middle Ages, whether legal, social, cultural, or religious. The writer demonstrates the fragility of a structure which depended on more or less willing participation in, and agreement about, a set of signs with coded meanings and powerful impacts on social action. The genres parodied include that of law, politics, love, religion, romance, and *gestes* (knightly adventures in strange lands) but I particularly want to focus on those episodes where the material being parodied is the exhortation to, description of, and signification of, crusading.

[3] Lucien Foulet, *Le Roman de Renard* (Paris: École Pratique des Hautes Études, 1914), pp. 75, 492.

[4] R. Anthony Lodge and Kenneth Varty, *The Earliest Branches of the Roman de Renart* (Leuven: Peeters, 2001), p. xvii: 'more of a genre than a text'.

Traditional English-language studies of the crusades were based largely on theological and historical works, mostly in Latin, which had circulated only amongst a small number of elite clerics, or to sermons and letters, which, although intended to spread crusade ideas to a wider audience, are preserved only in Latin editions.[5] Some authors have recently attempted to take a broader view of the available evidence, incorporating vernacular, less elite texts.[6] This paper will explore how sophisticated theological arguments were received and re-circulated amongst the medieval listening audience, and will attempt to trace the development of images and ideas about crusading outside the learned Latin world. Some of the material contained in the *Roman de Renart* can serve as a possible point of access to the mental universe of that audience, and to the less reverent ideas about the war with the 'Saracens' which circulated in the Europe of the crusaders.[7]

The *Renart* author's choice of words in the extract quoted at the beginning of this paper is particularly significant. When traditional crusade narrators describe

[5] The enormous range of work available is summarised by Giles Constable, 'The Historiography of the Crusades', in *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World*, ed. by Angeliki E. Laiou and Roy Parviz Mottahedeh (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 2001), pp. 1–22.

[6] The primary study is David A. Trotter, *Medieval French Literature and the Crusades* (Genève: Droz, 1988). Other works include which have combined the use of vernacular and Latin sources include: Matthew Bennett, 'First Crusaders' Images of Muslims: The Influence of Vernacular Poetry?', *Forum for Modern Language Studies*, 22 (1986), 101–22; Susan B. Edgington, 'Albert of Aachen and the *Chansons de Geste*', in *The Crusades and their Sources: Essays Presented to Bernard Hamilton*, ed. by John France and William G. Zajac (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998) pp. 23–37; Jean Flori, 'La croix, la crosse et l'épee: La conversion des infidèles dans *La Chanson de Roland* et les chroniques de croisade', in *Plaist vos oïr bone cançon vallant? Mélanges de langue et de littérature médiévales offerts à François Suard*, ed. by Dominique Boutet and others, 2 vols (Villeneuve-d-'Ascq: Université Charles-de-Gaulle, 1999), I, 261–72; Margaret Jubb, *The Legend of Saladin in Western Literature and Historiography* (Lewiston: Mellen, 2000); Helen Nicholson, 'Echoes of the Past and Present Crusades in *Les Prophecies de Merlin*', *Romania*, 122 (2004), 320–40.

[7] Although crusade historians have overlooked the *Renart* corpus, it has been studied by the historians of the military religious orders, for example: Helen Nicholson, 'Jacquemart Giélée's *Renart le Nouvel*: The Image of the Military Orders on the Eve of the Loss of Acre', in *Monastic Studies, 1: The Continuity of Tradition*, ed. by Judith Loades (Bangor: Headstart History, 1990), pp. 182–89; Helen Nicholson, *Templars, Hospitallers and Teutonic Knights: Images of the Military Orders, 1128–1291* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1993), pp. 73–74; Alain Demurger, *Les Templiers: Une chevalerie chrétienne au moyen âge* (Paris: Seuil, 2005), pp. 401–02, 405–06, 408–09; Jonathan Riley-Smith, *Templars and Hospitallers as Professed Religious in the Holy Land* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2010), pp. 13, 64–65.

the sign of the cross, sewn onto the crusader's clothes in fabric, they are usually careful in their choice of words and images. According to the anonymous *Gesta Francorum*, when Bohemond of Taranto heard about the armies of pilgrims going to Jerusalem in 1095, 'he ordered his most precious cloak to be cut up and immediately handed it all out as crosses'.[8] Fulcher of Chartres described the response to pope Urban II's sermon at Clermont announcing the First Crusade, where silk, cloth of gold, and other beautiful material was cut up to make crosses for the crowd.[9] Similarly, in 1147 St Bernard of Clairvaux cut up his monastic habit to distribute crosses to potential crusaders.[10]

The significance of this well-known sign is endlessly repeated in the Latin, scholarly literature of the crusades, in sermons, narratives, and letters. Its multiple meanings, reflecting on the well-known Gospel text 'take up your cross and follow me'[11] are repeatedly explored.[12] Its spiritual or magical significance as well as its cultural effectiveness cannot be overestimated. Taking on this sign was a performative act. As with the other signs of medieval 'badge language', wearing the cross actually changed the nature of the wearer unless, of course, like Renart, that individual was lying. Physical signs and symbols, worn, carried and displayed, such as heraldic devices, pilgrim badges, crusaders' crosses, were, in addition to the linguistic signs, a key part of medieval culture, controlling and facilitating individual and social understanding, marking out domains of control, identity, centrality or liminality, status, and function. In the absence of a clear textual label for 'crusades' before the late twelfth century, would-be crusaders themselves engaged in a kind of identity-formation through labelling. As soon as the first expedition was announced in 1095 they took as their mark the symbol of the cross, usually in the form of two simple strips of cloth, sewn onto everyday clothes. This marking process came to be seen not only as the sign of a crusader, but as the naming or embodying of the concept, process or event itself — so 'taking the

[8] 'Iussit preciosissimum palium quod apud se habebat incidi, totumque statim in cruces expendit' (*Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum (The Deeds of the Franks and Other Pilgrims to Jerusalem)*, ed. and trans by Rosalind Hill (London: Nelson, 1962) p. 7).

[9] Fulcher of Chartres, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, ed. by Heinrich Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg: Winter, 1913), bk 1, chap. 4 (l. 4).

[10] 'Et cum earum fascem praeparatum seminasset potius quam dedisset, coactus est vestes suas in cruces scindere et seminare' (Odo of Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici VII in Orientem*, ed. and trans. Virginia Gingerick Berry (New York: Columbia University Press, 1948), p. 8).

[11] Mark, 8. 34.

[12] Christoph T. Maier, *Crusade Propaganda and Ideology: Model Sermons for the Preaching of the Cross* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 87, 105, 173, 179–91.

cross' meant, by a process of metonymy, becoming a participant in the crusade, and liturgies which marked the change of identity involved in signing up were titled rites for taking the cross. The late coinage of a single term for the 'crusade' demonstrates this clearly — the *crucesignatus*, or *croisée*, crusader, participates in the *croisade* — the activity of the crossed.[13]

This sign not only marked one out as a member of the crusade army, but also entitled the participant to legal privileges, enforceable with specific legal sanctions — and the wearing of the sign also subjected its wearer to sanctions — failure to participate after taking on the sign could result in excommunication. The sign was seen as magical in its ability to connect the user with the supernatural events of biblical history and with their immediacy and power in the eternal present of a sort of 'block time.' James of Vitry, historian, bishop of Acre from 1216 and cardinal bishop of Albano 1229–40, described the cross as the key of the kingdom of heaven.[14]

In this context, Renart's treatment of his cross is especially significant. Renart describes the sign of his holy vocation as a *drapel* — which is broadly equivalent to loin-cloth, swaddling-cloths, bandage — and as a *frepe*, a rag or tatter, something old, and without value. This is reminiscent of the contrast drawn in Old Testament writings between the fine linen of holiness, and the filthy cloths which metaphorically symbolize Israel's uncleanness in a state of sin.[15] In this way, translation (from Latin to French, from Bible to fable) challenges rather than reproduces meaning, making the 'cloth' more appropriately a symbol of Renart's false intentions than of a holy pilgrimage. The writer takes advantage of the instability of signs, whether visual or verbal, whose meaning and performative effectiveness are ultimately dependent on context, intentionality, and authority on the part of one 'speaker' (or wearer) and on the willing acceptance of those terms by the reciter.

This new context into which the language of crusade is transposed is a composite of reversal and re-reversal, until nothing is signified for certain. Thus Renart has muddled both verbal and visual codes. By deliberately mistranslating

[13] Michael Markowski, '*Crucesignatus*: Its Origins and Early Usage', *Journal of Medieval History*, 10 (1984), 157–65; Christopher Tyerman, *The Invention of the Crusades* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998), pp. 49–55; Jonathan Riley-Smith, *What Were the Crusades?* (Basingstoke: Macmillan 1977; 4th edn, London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009); James Brundage, *Medieval Canon Law and the Crusader* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press 1969), pp. 115–90.

[14] Quoted in Maier, *Crusade Propaganda and Ideology*, p. 107.

[15] Clean cloths: see, for example, Numbers 4. 6, 7; I Kings 21. 9; II Chronicles 5. 12. Filthy rags: see, for example, Esther 14. 16; Isaiah 64. 6; Jeremiah 38. 11,12; Job 38. 9; Proverbs 23. 21.

between two semantic systems — the cloth and the word — Renart entangles the meanings implied by the cross. The fabric, like any sign, has only the significance given it by context, convention, and intention. Renart is able to demonstrate the fragility of the material as well as the verbal symbolism. Complicity with Renart in this change of matrix seems to be expected of the audience, and given the fox's enormous popularity with medieval audiences, both in text and image, it seems safe to assume that the engaging technique was effective.[16]

The translations and adaptations which constitute the Renart literature are not the straightforward mapping of equivalent signs from different languages, but rather the transfer of complex ranges of meanings from one cultural matrix to another. No two matrices are exactly congruent, and words and meanings cannot be simply mapped one onto another — changing the matrix changes the meaning, sometimes subtly, sometimes radically, so the principle of untranslatability applies.[17] That untranslatability and those mismatches can be used by someone familiar with both source and target languages as another layer of signification, setting up deliberate conflict between two modes of expression, creating disruptions of meaning intentionally with satiric or parodic intent.

The *Renart* corpus was certainly part of the textual as well as the oral and visual culture of the period of the crusades, and was referred to by authors closely associated with the crusades, including Guibert of Nogent in north-eastern France in the 1120s, and Philip of Novara in mid-thirteenth century Cyprus.[18] Additionally, crusade and pilgrimage references abound in the Renart corpus itself. In Branch I, 'The Trial', we find the extract with which this paper started. Renart has been tried and convicted for the rape of Hersent the she-wolf, wife of Ysengrin. About to be hanged, he begs for a chance to redeem himself by taking

[16] See, for example, Kenneth Varty, *Renart the Fox: A Study of the Fox in Medieval English Art* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1967).

[17] Friedrich Schleiermacher, 'On the Principles of Translation', in *German Romantic Criticism*, ed. by A. Leslie Wilson, trans. by André Lefevere (New York: Continuum, 1982), pp. 1–30; Walter Benjamin, 'The Task of the Translator', in Walter Benjamin, *Selected Writings*, ed. Marcus Bullock and Michael W. Jennings, 4 vols (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1996–2003), I, 253–363.

[18] Foulet, *Le Roman de Renard*, pp. 75, 492; Guibert of Nogent, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, ed. by R. B. C. Huygens, in *Dei Gesta per Francos et cinq autres textes*, CCCM, 127A (Turnhout: Brepols, 1996), bk III, chap. 8; Filippo da Novara, *Guerra di Federico II in Oriente (1223–1242)*, ed. and trans. by Silvio Melani (Napoli: Liguori, 1994), pp. 110, 126, 132, 134–44, 204–06; trans. as Philip de Novare, *The Wars of Frederick II against the Ibelins in Syria and Cyprus*, trans. by John L. Lamonte and Merton Jerome Hubert, Records of Civilisation, 25 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1936), pp. 113–15.

the cross and going to Jerusalem.[19] The court of animals, led by King Noble the Lion, agree to this suggestion, on the basis that Renart, standing in front of them, convicted for the rape, is '*preuz et cortois*' (valiant and courtly),[20] and because, 'if Renart stays there only one month, he will have even greater skill'.[21] Renart forgives every one before he leaves, and expresses hope of salvation if he dies but 'in his heart he defies them'.[22]

In these lines, as elsewhere, *Renart*[23] uses the language of courtesy, and of religion, sin, repentance, penance, and salvation, but in their transfer into this genre, which is that of *fabliau* rather than romance or epic, the words lose their previous significance and meanings are overturned. When such language issues from the mouth of Renart himself, audience expectation is of total *bouleversement* for comic effect. In line with Renart's standard role, it will be obvious here to the medieval as well as to the modern reader that the fox is treating the decision to *croiz prandre* (take the cross) and journey to the lands *outre la mer* (across the sea) as in another age and culture Brer Rabbit treated being thrown into the briar patch — a punishment which *seems* to have the required harshness, but which allows him to skip away unharmed and unrepentant.

The collaboration of the listener in this kind of misdirection is critical to the success of the Renart tales. The conscious act of reinterpreting these ironic clues or cues creates a relationship of complicity between Renart, his narrator and his audience. Engagement with the text depends not so much on suspension of disbelief, but on its active deployment — the listener needs a heightened sense of scepticism about the statements and intentions expressed by Renart, and a shared enjoyment of their falsehood.

This motif of false repentance can be found reiterated on many occasions in the corpus. But the particular effect of the episode as placed here is to engage the

[19] 'Biau gentil sire, | Qar me lessiez un petite dire [...] | El non de sainte penitence |Voil la croiz prandre por aler, | La merci Dieu, outre la mer. | Si je muir la, si serai sax | Se je suis penduz, ce ert max, | Si seroit mout povre venjance'. (Good Noble, sir, please allow me a few words [...] | As a matter of devout penitence, | I wish to take the cross and go, | God willing, beyond the seas. | Should I die there, I will be saved. | If I am hanged, that would be evil | Which would be a poor revenge.' (*Roman de Renart*, I, 227–28, ll. 7039–51)).

[20] *Roman de Renart*, I, 228, l. 7059.

[21] 'Se Renart vient jusqu'a 1 mois, | Encor avra mestier mout grant' (*Roman de Renart*, I, 228, ll. 7060–62).

[22] 'Dedenz son cuer les desfia' (*Roman de Renart*, I, 229, l. 7094).

[23] Or, rather his author; for the sake of brevity, I shall continue to refer to Renart as though he authored his own words, whilst bearing in mind the distinction between character, author, and compiler.

audience's complicity in perceiving the crusade vow, and the journey to Jerusalem, as spiritually worthless, even ludicrous, a scam to avoid proper punishment. Renart, well known to his audience both within and without the text as thief, liar, and now rapist, expects that the epithet 'crusader' with its material sign of the cross will appropriately complete that list. The joke is crudely compounded when the lion King Noble, the wolf Ysengrin, and the rest of the animal court agree to this outrageous suggestion. Even though they, like the external audience, know Renart's character well, unlike that audience, they accept his protestations of repentance at face value, allowing him to escape punishment, as if they were naïve enough to believe that the performance of a rite and the taking of a sign really would transform Renart's identity. However, the animals also apparently accept the futility, or even counterproductiveness, of the crusade as an exercise for salvation. As Noble tells us, 'It is the same with every one — they go away good, and come back bad. The same will happen to him if he escapes this danger'.[24] Good and bad here are deliberately misaligned for ironic effect — Noble's use of *bon* and *mal* in respect to Renart represents reversals of their common usage — what is good for Renart is not usually good for anyone else, and the fox measures virtue by his own advantage rather than by the standards of the idealized heroes of *Geste*. Noble has just seen Renart condemned for rape, but seems to declare him 'good' at the start of another trick.

This confusion of qualities also appears in more traditional Latin crusade texts, dealing with an enterprise which should be the uncontested opportunity for the active expression of virtue and the defeat of sin. We can see for example the extreme pessimism of the Würzburg annalist, writing in the wake of the Second Crusade, describing those who participated in that disastrous expedition:

> Others who were oppressed by debts to other men or who sought to escape the service due to their lords, or who were even awaiting the punishment merited by their shameful deeds. Such men simulated a zeal for God and hastened chiefly in order to escape from such troubles and anxieties.[25]

These concerns were echoed in the work of James of Vitry, bishop of Acre. He wrote that the city of Acre was a haunt of thieves and murderers, who had come

[24] 'Ce, dit li rois, 'ne fet a dire. | Quand revendroit, si seroit pire, | Qar tuit ceste costume tenent; | Qui bon i vont, mal en revenant. | Tot autretel refera il | S'il escap e de cest peril' (*Roman de Renart*, I, 228, ll. 7063–68).

[25] *Annales Herbipolenses*, s.a. 1147, ed. by Georg Heinrich Pertz, in MGH SS, 16, p. 3; trans. by James Brundage, *The Crusades: A Documentary History* (Milwaukee: Marquette University Press, 1962), pp. 115–21.

there as so-called crusaders to escape condign punishment at home.[26] Some extant crusade sermons also perpetuated the notion that the crusade participants were merely a rag-tag army of miscreants, encouraged to participate by preachers offering a way to escape the consequences of their sins. According to one of James's own sermons, 'sinners may be led out of their cave by the string of the cross of Christ'; 'those outcast from God and scattered by various vices may return to this sign'; 'they may thus be freed from venial and also from mortal sins.' Odo of Chateauroux (*c.* 1190–1293), theologian, crusade preacher, papal legal, and Cardinal, confirms the point — 'He wants you to leave your country in order to liberate you from the fire of demons, desire, indulgence and envy'; and 'a sinner does not dare to approach God as a criminal, but because of his clemency the King holds out his staff to him'.[27]

Renart's potential as a crusader apparently fits these paradigms but the audience expects no 'good' of him through his professed participation. King Noble's brief quip; 'Qui bon i vont, mal en revenant' (who goes a good man comes back evil) calls into question the whole enterprise of crusading, his judgement of Renart, the possibility of justice, and indeed the recognition and signalling of good and bad. Having thus overturned the normal semantic range of good and bad, Renart proceeds to destroy the material symbol of the crusader's cross and its verbal representation. Once out of reach of punishment, though not out of the King's earshot, Renart rips the crusader's badge from his shoulder and shouts to the king the words quoted at the beginning of this paper.

The notion of the great Nur al-Din's being thrown into terror at the news of an approaching crusade was obviously not intended to be taken seriously. This Syrian ruler's first appearance in the awareness of the west was in the context of the

[26] Jacques de Vitry, *Lettres*, ed. by R. B. C. Huygens (Leiden: Brill, 1960), p. 86.

[27] James of Vitry quoted in Maier, *Crusade Propaganda and Ideology*: 'crucis Christo funiculo de cavernis suis peccatores foras educantur' (p. 103); 'profugi a deo et per diversa vitia dipersi ad hoc signum revertantur' (p. 112); 'liberati a peccatis venialibus simul et mortibus' (p. 105); 'ideo vult ut patriam vestram derelinquatis ut vos liberet de igne demonum, cupiditas, luxurie, invidie' (Odo of Châteauroux, quoted in Maier, *Crusade Propaganda and Ideology*, p. 157); 'non audit peccator accedere ad Deum videns se reum; porrigit ei rex virgam, crucem scilicet' (p. 199); see also p. 212. On methodological approaches to using sermon material as an indicator of its recipients' views and understanding, see Alexander Murray, 'Religion Among the Poor in Thirteenth Century France: The Testimony of Humbert of Romans', *Traditio*, 30 (1974), 285–324; and Alexander Murray, 'Piety and Impiety in Thirteenth-Century Italy', in *Popular Belief and Practice: Papers Read at the Ninth Summer Meeting and the Tenth Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, ed. by G. J. Cuming and Derek Baker, Studies in Church History, 8 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), pp. 83–106.

crusaders' abortive siege of Damascus in 1148 and the catastrophic defeat of the second crusade, under the leadership of Louis VII. It was the news of this disaster which prompted the Würzburg analyst (above) and many others to explain the West's failure on the grounds of the shameful behaviour of the crusade army. Word of this defeat had spread rapidly across Europe and resulted in a significant body of literature and legend, blaming everyone from the Templars to the Greeks for the disaster.[28] Nur al-Din certainly did not feel at all threatened by Renart's proposed crusade. The image of pagans 'turning tail' in fear of Noble's troops is ridiculous in light of this extensive awareness of the crusaders' recent failures. Although Nur al-Din's fame as the arch-enemy of the crusaders was eclipsed in the next generation by the name of Saladin, here he clearly stands for the Saracen world as a whole, bringing about the decisive defeat of the crusaders' army, and underlining the idle maliciousness of Renart's parting words.

The most extensive use of crusade imagery in the whole Renart corpus appears in Branch XI, *Renart l'Empereur*. This branch has been less studied by critics than the earlier ones and little attention has been paid to the 'crusading' section, as opposed to the earlier two-thirds of *Renart l'Empereur*. The branch has an uneven tripartite structure. It begins with the bathos of the Fox's wife and children bemoaning their starving state, but they are quickly forgotten as Renart embarks on a traditionally adventure-filled journey from home to court, searching for food and opportunities for gain. In section two, Renart sets off on another violent encounter with Ysengrin, in which he yet again sets the wolf up for a beating, and then poses as Ysengrin's rescuer. In the final segment of the branch, Renart goes to Noble's court in response to the Lion King's summons to defend the kingdom, which is being invaded from the east by an army led by the Camel. For Varty, the principal commentator, it is the earlier motif of hunger endlessly unsatisfied which provides the cheif motor for the whole tale.[29] However, the repeatedly satirized image of the crusade is also key to an appreciation of this tale.

[28] On the use of the name Nur al-Din here, especially for dating the branch rather earlier than Foulet, see Jean R. Scheidegger, *Roman de Renard ou la texte de la Derision* (Genève: Droz, 1989), p. 39. A similar reference to Nur al-Din as a distant enemy appears in Chrétien de Troyes's *Yvain: Le chevalier au Lion*, ed. by Wendelin Foerster and T. B. W. Reid (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1942), l. 596. Giles Constable, 'The Second Crusade as Seen by Contemporaries', *Traditio*, 9 (1953), 213–79, is still the seminal work on contemporary views of the second crusade. For more recent assessments, see *The Second Crusade: Scope and Consequences*, ed. by Jonathan Phillips and Martin Hoch (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001); and also Helen Nicholson, *Templars, Hospitallers, and Teutonic Knights*, pp. 10, 16, 30, 41, 51, 81.

[29] Kenneth Varty, 'The Role of the Anthologist-Storyteller in the Roman de Renart,' in *Miscellanea di Studi Romanzi*, ed. by Anna Cornagliotti, 2 vols (Alessandria: Orsol, 1988), II, 1061–72.

The crusade section of *Renart l'Empereur* begins with the lion King Noble's announcement that he is summoning his troops from across the kingdom to defend their territory against the invasion by the Saracen army, led by the camel. Critics have dismissed this branch as lacking in structural integrity because at this point Ysengrin and Noble seem to have forgotten their longstanding feud with Renart and his extensive criminal history. But in fact this apparent hiatus is a repeating pattern in many of the branches; Renart constantly breaks faith with the other animals, but their trust in him is ever renewable. This point reinforces the importance of the audience's complicity in what might be called a fox's-eye view of the world. However wicked Renart may seem, to the audience, Ysengrin and Noble are the more culpable, because they are stupid, gullible, and forgetful. Renart's professions of emotion are always fake and double dealing, but the naivety of the other animals is genuine, and elicits no chord of sympathy from the audience.

On his way to answer King Noble's summons to defend the kingdom from the invading Camel, Renart meets and murders Tardiff, a slug. Tardiff (which we might translate as Tardy or Sluggish), is not only a noble and a knight in the animal kingdom, he is the king's standard bearer; almost the embodiment of those special heraldic signs which both communicate and create identity and status in the medieval world. There is, therefore, a deep significance in Renart's attack on the slug as 'sign' of authority. The fox then steals the slug's noble accoutrements — sword, lance, and falcon, the key identifying symbols of his noble status.[30] The falcon is a particular example of such a key indicator — a sign — carefully graded in meaning and value, protected by law and recognized as a mark of nobility. By stealing the identifiers, Renart is able without further argument to assume a noble identity. By killing the sign bearer and stealing his signs, it is as though Renart has recast, re-identified himself, and appears at court in this guise of his own new creation.

One particular passage can be used to demonstrate how this pretence of faith and chivalrous behaviour, this deliberated mis-identification, is effectively signalled to an audience familiar with Renart's history. Having arrived at court in response to the king's summons, Renart kneels before Noble in the manner of one who is 'bien ensaigniez', or 'well brought up'[31] a piece of politeness which in itself, after his recent behaviour to Noble and to Tardiff whom he has murdered, can only further arouse the audience's cynical mirth. Further consideration of the

[30] *Roman de Renart*, II, 208, ll. 22,298–22,340.

[31] *Roman de Renart*, II, 213, l. 22,459.

possible range of meanings of *ensaigné*, reveals 'sign', 'signal', 'ensign', 'signpost', 'word', 'battle cry', in addition to 'upbringing' or 'education'. The standard which Tardiff has carried and which Renart's son Percehaie will later carry is *l'ansaigne*.

So on the one hand, Renart acts as one who is well taught, well bred, but in the same word is also the implication that he is well known, that his intentions have been signposted, that he is 'labelled' — labelled with the false symbols of Tardiff's nobility which Noble reads only superficially, but also inscribed with the sign of evil by his prior behaviour, and by the audience's knowledge of him.[32] Renart's acting as 'well bred' serves for Noble as an effective cover for these signals and signs, which he cannot read (though the audience can) knowing as he does only the ever-falsified language of chivalry. When news of the Slug's death reaches court, Renart is even nominated as standard-bearer in Tardiff's stead — and he is nominated for this task by the multiply-injured and multiply-forgetful Ysengrin, since Renart is, he says

> [...] brave and has great courage,
> He is a great warrior
> And comes from noble ancestors.[33]

Here we have an image of Renart newly *ensaigné*, labelled, signed, 'ensigned', and even 'brought up' by Noble's repeated unjustified approval and forgetfulness. He has killed the sign bearer and stolen his signs, he is signed, appointed as bearer of signs himself, and then avoids the duty of maintaining signification, when he refuses to carry the standard himself. Most politely he turns down the opportunity to accompany the crusading animals, but instead stays behind, as he claims, to protect the queen and the palace.

> Tents and pavilions are folded,
> Goodbyes are said and they turn
> To the Tuesday dawn [i.e. eastward]
> They number many thousands.
> They ride through the countryside;
> Percehaie carries the standard
> Which billows in the wind,

[32] Gilbert of Tournai (amongst others), quoted in Maier, *Crusade Propaganda and Ideology*, p. 197, points out in one of his model sermons that: 'notorious sinners are also signed with the sign of the devil [...]'; 'thus, as you sinned in public, take the sign of Christ in public' ('signo etiam dyaboli signantur notorii pecatores [...] ergo, sicut publice peccasti, publice accipe signu Christi').

[33] 'Hardiz est et de fier corage, | Et mout a an lui vasselage | Et si est bien emparentez' (*Roman de Renart*, II, 218, ll. 22,611–13).

But his heart is sad and grieving
Because he is separated from Renart.
Renart who is *mal senez*
Has stayed with the queen
Whom he loves entirely.[34]

Consequently, during the ensuing war against the camel's army, Renart is absent, despite his appointment as standard bearer. *Enseigné*, signalled to the audience as bearing the mark of evil and labelled by Noble as the sign bearer for the whole army, Renart has displaced himself, and instead occupies the place of the missing king, in the palace and in the queen's affections. This absence and presence is described here as *mal senez* — evil-minded, wrong-minded, or possibly mad. This echoes usages of *senez* in a range of romance texts (by Marie de France in *Graelent* and by Wace in *Brut* and *Roman de Rou*) as wise. We also find in a similar collection of sources 'mal sené' meaning *insensé* (for example, in *Aymeri de Narbonne* and *Otinel*,) that is, mad or foolish. The second range of meaning, which is perhaps more obviously relevant to Renart, is as evil-minded, mischievous, or malevolent, *tückisch* (in German) tricky or evil. Taking the range as a whole, *mal sené* thus implies bad, possibly mad, but with the wisdom of folly or pointing out the foolishness of wisdom, as Renart has turned conventional wisdom on its head throughout, to create a parody of wisdom which articulates the foolishness of all the other protagonists.[35]

This is not the Godly, innocent foolishness — 'stultitia dei' which is wiser than the wisdom of men, as in St Paul.[36] Here, rather, Renart's madness is worldly wisdom, ironically celebrated. The conventional wisdom of morality, of Nobility, expressed in the Lion King's very name, which is his own subverted signifier, is revealed as folly. Renart's *mal senez'* is identified with self-interest, not self sacrifice. Yet the wise fool plays with this notion of twisted wisdom, manipulating other's wish to appear wise, to acquiesce in his own version of wisdom.

[34] 'Paveillons et tantes trosserent, | Congié pranent, si s'en alerent | A un mardi a l'ainsjrner, | Furent plus de .1100 millier, | Si chevauchent par la champaigne; | Percehaie port l'ensaigne | Qui baloie contre le vent, | Mes le cuer ot tristre et dolent | Por Renart don't il fu sevrez. | Renart qui fu mout mal senez | Fu remés ovec la roïne | Qu'il amoit d'amor enterine' (*Roman de Renart*, II, 220, ll. 22,689–22,700).

[35] Frédéric Godefroy, *Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française* (Paris: Vieweg, 1881–1902); and see discussion in R. Howard Bloch, *The Anonymous Marie de France* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2003), 'for the homophonic pair "sené/sané can mean "sign," "sense" (as in Marie's original "Surplus de sens"), and "health," as in the common designation of the "forcené" as the one who is both "outside of signs" and "out of his mind [senses]" or "unhealthy"'.

[36] 1 Corinthians 3. 18–20.

As the narrative follows the events of the animals 'crusade', it continues to transfer individual linguistic units — words — and larger semantic units — sections of narrative, elements of story, between genres, only to transform their significance in the process. The closeness of this association between the genre of crusade narrative and the story of *Renart l'Empereur* can be conveyed through a comparison with the work of Ambroise, an Anglo-Norman poet of the late twelfth century, generally accepted to be an eyewitness account of the Third Crusade, in which Richard the Lion Heart fought the armies of Saladin.[37] This text shows clearly how 'Romance' — conceived both as a language, and as the literary discourse of chivalric adventures — is used to express the ideas of holy war. Because the work of Ambroise is both linguistically and stylistically close to that of *Renart*, the comparison can demonstrate very clearly the intersection of the two systems. Although Ambroise's chronicle is not a or the direct source for *Renart*, a comparison of the two demonstrates their common themes and ideas, and shows very well how transposing these narrative motifs into the context of the *Renart* cycle subverts their more conventional significations.

Three examples will suffice — the entwining of ideas of defence and vengeance, the use of confession to emphasize the sacrality of crusading warfare and the use of battle imagery common in fictional chivalric literature to embroider accounts of crusading warfare. First, the proximate cause for the animals' war is the invasion from the East by an army of animals, led by the Camel. The justification for Noble is therefore defence, which is a standard motif in crusade texts, and vengeance for stolen territory, conceived in strictly secular terms, which is also a commonplace of crusade rhetoric. We find this clearly expressed by Ambroise:

> On behalf of God, in spite of the devil
> that he [the crusader] should have all sins forgiven
> who goes against these heretics
> who have disinherited
> the worthy king of truth.[38]

And again here:

> Old men and young alike
> would not conceal his true feelings

[37] *The History of the Holy War: Ambroise's Estoire de la guerre sainte*, ed. by Marianne Ailes and Malcolm Barber (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2003). See now Marianne Ailes, 'Ambroise of Normandy', in *The Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*, 2 vols (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 1, 34–35.

[38] 'or Deu, el despite as diable, | que toz pechiez sereit quites | Qui ireit sor les genz herites | Qui aveint desherités | Le digne rei de verité' (*Ambroise's Estoire*, ed. by Ailes and Barber, 1, 1, ll. 48–52).

and showed them in his sorrow
and were anxious to take vengeance
for the shame that had been done
to God who had been robbed of his lands.[39]

And this important theme is also set out plainly in the scholarly tones of Pope Innocent III:

> Consider dear sons, consider carefully that if any temporal king was thrown out of his domain and perhaps captured, would he not, when he was restored to his pristine liberty and the time had come for dispensing justice, look on his vassals as unfaithful and traitors against the crown [...] unless they had committed not only their property but also their persons to the task of freeing him?[40]

This emphasis on response to attack and vengeance for lost lands is widely used in the literature as the key justification for crusades. The motif of defence/vengeance provides a completely incontestable excuse for Noble's war with the Camel, and the echoes between the two genres are made clear both in King Noble's initial summons to war, and in the speech he give to the assembled court of Animals.

Second, confession before battle was a significant factor for just and holy wars in European history long before the crusades,[41] but became infinitely more significant when war was realigned by Urban II and his successors as a strictly penitential activity. Before the great battle against the army of the Camel, Bernard the archpriest hears the minimalist confession of the lion's army and grants them this perfunctory forgiveness:

Lords, do not doubt
That these faithless folk
Will have no power over us,
I know that power that you have
Let us fight fiercely
However well these men are armed
Let us cut them in two and kill them.[42]

[39] 'Ne li viel ne li bachelier | Ne voleit lors cuers celer | Qu'il ne mostrassent lor pesance | Et qu'il ne preissent venjance | De la honte qui esteit faite | A deu qui ne lavoit forfaite | De sa terre' (*Ambroise's Estoire*, ed. by Ailes and Barber, 1, 2, ll. 69–75).

[40] Innocent III, *Opera omnia*, in PL, 216, cols 809–10.

[41] David Sterard Bachrach, *Religion and the Conduct of War, c. 300–1215* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2003).

[42] 'Seignors, ne doutez ja, | Cela parjure gent de la | N'aront ja contre nos pouoir, | Ice sachiez vos bien por voir. | Desor chevauchiez fierement; | Ainz qu'il aient armé lor gent, | Les

Ambroise gave a similar account of a very brief battlefield confession and absolution, granted by the archbishop of Canterbury.[43]

Third, representations of battles in the Latin crusade sources have been shown to draw on an existing body of probably vernacular adventure stories, and these adventures of knights in holy war then fuelled a further flowering of *gestes* style literature featuring the mythologized adventures of the crusaders. We can isolate some specific details of this recirculation of tropes, and examine Renart's engagement in the game. The above quotation from *Renart l'Empereur* used the expression 'cut them in two' (French: *detrenchier*), to describe individual's military action.[44] This term ties the text to the wide range of epic, romance, and crusade contexts in which knightly heroism is exemplified through the bifurcation of the enemy. Both the word and the gesture signified by it, the single dramatic sword blow which slices the Saracen from top to toe are familiar from Albert of Aachen's account of the First Crusade, when this feat was attributed to Godfrey de Bouillon and from the fictionalized version in the *Chanson d'Antioch*.[45] It was also used by Ambroise, when in battle 'Richard cut him evenly in two' (l. 11584) tying the historical text, the myth, and the beast fable into the same literary matrix.[46]

Another frequent image from epic battles is of the heroic knight imagined as hawk or falcon rushing down on a terrorized foe. In Ambroise, the figure is used

avrons detrenchiez et mort' (*Roman de Renart*, II, p. 222, ll. 22,759–65).

[43] *Ambroise's Estoire*, ed. by Ailes and Barber, I, p. 64, ll. 3955–64.

[44] Erhard Lommatzsch, *Adolf Toblers altfranzösisches Wörterbuch* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1915–): *Detrenchier*: zerschneiden, zerhauen, to cut in two (specifically two). Tobler's second reference is to Roland, 'tut li detrenchet d'ici que al nasel' (l. 1996), followed by a reference from Thomas Aquinas to a chirograph; Frédéric Godefroy, *Dictionnaire*, gives 'trancher', 'couper', 'tailler', with references to *La Chanson de Roland*, the *Brut*, Raimbert de Paris, *Girart de Roussillon*, and many others.

[45] Albert of Aachen, *Historia Hierosolymitana*, bk III, chap. 65, in *Recueil des historiens des Croisades: Historiens occidentaux*, ed. by Académie Royale des inscriptions et belles-lettres, 5 vols (in 6) (Paris: Imprimerie royale, 1844–95), IV (1866), 265–713 (p. 385); also in Albert of Aachen, *Historia Ierosolimitana: History of the Journey to Jerusalem*, ed. and trans. by Susan B. Edgington (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007), p. 244. For other examples of this feat, see *Historia Karoli Magni et Rotholandi ou Chronique du Pseudo-Turpin*, ed. by Cyril Meredith Jones (Paris: Droz, 1936; repr. Genève: Droz, 1972), p. 177; and *La Chanson d'Antioche*, ed. by Suzanne Duparq-Quioc, Documents relatifs à l'histoire des croisades, 11 (Paris: Geuthner, 1977), p. 202 (ll. 3690–97).

[46] Richard 'detrenchoit tot contreval' (sliced straight downwards) (*Ambroise's Estoire*, ed. by Ailes and Barber, I, 187, l. 11,586); and see p. 119, l. 7346: Richard 'tranchoit mains et braz et testes' (sliced off hands and arms and heads) in a diagonal swipe.

of Richard, falling on his foes, 'just like a hobby after a lark'.[47] In *L'Empereur* this is transposed into an image of Tiecelin the crow rescuing the terrified hare. This image not only reverses the usual outcome of the encounter of hawk and prey, but also undermines the social status of the hawk image by replacing the noble bird of prey with the common crow.[48]

The *Renart* author spreads his literary net even further by incorporating the hedgehog amongst his 'crusaders'. Espinarz (Spiny) appears frequently in the *Renart* corpus, but in the context of holy battles, he compels comparison with the imagery used in Ambroise's account of the battle of Jaffa, when King Richard himself appears from the melée so thick with arrows, he looked like a hedgehog.[49] This imagery had also been used in other more distantly related contexts — St Edmund Martyr, murdered by Vikings in ninth-century England was so described, and the original version of the simile is that of the martyrdom of St Sebastian.[50] Both these martyrdoms were popularly represented visually as well as in writing and would therefore have been familiar images to a broad audience. The subversion of the image here brings the hedgehog to battle ready-prickled. The *Renart* author borrows a variety of forms, motifs, and conventions from crusade literature with clearly satirical intent.

Another interesting example of this animal parallel can be seen in comparison with the *Chanson de Jerusalem*, discussed by Edgington in this volume. In this early French poem relating a highly mythologized version of events from the First Crusade, the Saracen troops are ranked in their alterity, first by outward appearance (black skinned), then by association with the exotic (riding elephants) — and with the imaginary (horned horses, serpents and dragons) — and finally by a thoroughly dehumanized morphology, in which they absorb animal characteris-

[47] 'et li preuz reis lor corut sore | qu'ainc plus n'i ala attendant | plus tost c'une foudre fendant | joint come hobe sur la houe' (*Ambroise's Estoire*, ed. by Ailes and Barber, I, 26, l. 1622).

[48] 'Then Coarz was in great danger, | When Tiecelins arrived by his side, | And saved him. | There was a great melee. | Tiecelins drew his sword | And wielded the blade clear and sharp | Like a scorpion's sting. | He severed head and feet' (*Le Roman de Renart*, ed. by Mario Roques, Classiques français du moyen âge, 85 (Paris: Champion, 1958), p. 71, ll. 20,938–46). The version published in *Le Roman de Renart édité d'après les manuscripts C et M*, ed. by Naoyuki Fukumoto, Noboru Harano, and Satoro Suzuki, 2 vols (Tokyo: France Tosho, 1983–85) has the same incident at vol. II, 223, ll. 22,784–91, but replaces Tiecelin with the cat Tybert as rescuer.

[49] *Ambroise's Estoire*, ed. by Ailes and Barber, I, 187, l. 11,598.

[50] For St Edmund, see Abbo of Fleury, *Passio Sancti Eadmundi* , in *Three Lives of English Saints*, ed. by M. Winterbottom, Toronto Mediaeval Texts, 1 (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1972), pp. 65–87. For Saint Sebastian, see Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend*, trans. by W. G. Ryan, 2 vols (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), II, 97.

tics and transgress the boundaries of humanity altogether. In *Renart l'Empereur*, the army of Noble already inhabits the non-human world, and their animal otherness is co-opted through greater or lesser degrees of anthropomorphism into familiar chivalric spaces. King Noble's army, even though identified individually as animals, are referred to collectively as *seignors*, *hommes*, *chretiens* (for example at ll. 22,546 and 22,567) and have personal as well as species names. However, the Camel's army are referred to only as Saracens (l. 22,802) or by their species. This army of 'pagans' who oppose King Noble consists of principally exotic species, like those of the *Chanson de Jerusalem*: camels, elephants, scorpions, who represent by their difference the foreignness of the pagan religion which threatens the social and political economy of Noble's realm.[51] In these and in many other examples, *Renart* participates in the discourse of crusading and in its fictionalized chivalric re-representation, but upsets its categories, denies its certainties and undermines its ability to transmit a demonstrably religious message.

This sense of difference and distinction between the exotic species and the domestic figures of King Noble's army is challenged again when the traitor Renart is eventually defeated. The complementarity of evil personified by Renart and the Camel is emphasized here as Renart's submission to Noble is couched in almost exactly the same language as that of the defeated Camel. Just as Renart pleads:

> Pardon me on this occasion
> I know well I have broken faith with you.[52]

We hear in his plea words almost identical to those used by the Camel:

> Pardon me this time
> For the misfaith I have done to you.[53]

This reminds readers and listeners of all the other occasions within the cycle when Renart has begged and received forgiveness with spurious claims of repentance. Once again, the audience's superior external knowledge allows them to recognize the questionable signification of Renart's words. As readers, we have seen him defeated and contrite so many times before, and always this has been a prelude to further crimes. This knowledge surely also calls into question the efficacy of

[51] *Roman de Renart*, II, 213, l. 22,466–76.

[52] 'Pardonnez nos a ceste foiz, | Bien sia que vers vos sui mesfoiz' (*Roman de Renart*, II, 262, ll. 24,043–44).

[53] 'Pardonnezs moi a ceste foiz | De ce que je vos a mesfet' (*Roman de Renart*, II, 228, ll. 22,954–55).

the Camel's words of submission, and consequently the reality or reliability of the apparent defeat of paganism. *Renart*'s translation of crusading words into the contested matrix of the beast fable undermines all accepted meanings and endings, including the ultimate victory of the crusaders. With extraordinary arrogance, the fox then once again pleads to be allowed to undertake a crusade to make up for his misdeeds! There is an agreeable implied circularity to this ending, as the ever-forgiveable Renart seems once again to fool the ever-forgetful king and court, with the excuse he has used so often before. The cycle thus avoids any hint of possible closure in sign or story, as no words can hold their meaning against this onslaught.

The *Renart* corpus as a whole presents to its audience — and expects from them — a casual anticlericalism. It assumes that the motives of clerics and priests are as venal as those of most other animals. It also demonstrates a deep scepticism about the efficacy of the social bonds privileged in more romantic genres, such as love, honour, friendship, justice, and faith, both religious and political, and the wisdom of rulers. It uses the language of chivalry to ludicrous effect. Specifically, *Renart l'Empereur* uses and misuses the symbols and language of the crusade — the symbol of the cross itself, the power of penance, defence/vengeance for territorial loss, the pilgrim's confession and blessing, the chivalry and prowess of the crusade army, and the 'natural' otherness of the Saracen. Like the socio-political bonds between Renart, Ysengrin, and Noble, which are constantly reiterated and re-broken, this crusading language, these symbols, are used only to be undermined. This can be done either directly, as when Renart rips off his pilgrim's cross, or indirectly, when his exhortations to Noble to avenge the Camel's attacks, heard by an audience familiar with his character, are understood to be a front for his greedy schemes.

Whether the compiler(s) were recording oral/literary, elite/popular, clerical/lay compositions, and what ever social or educational level we assume for the audience of the tales, at least we can suggest that this is a textual community ready to hear, read, or write language usually found in high romance or in the rhetoric of religion turned to radically different effect; ready to see the ridiculous in familiar situations — situations which must be familiar in order for the satire to be effective. Its points of reference include academic Latin, the written romance tradition and the fabliaux, and its context varies from the country life of farmers and markets, to the world of the petty knight, and the royal court. Pilgrimage, penitence, and crusade are obviously well known images to this audience, but such crude revelation of the powerlessness of the cultural symbols it misuses surely requires from its audience a recognition of that ultimate ineffectiveness and the fragility of cultural processes built on the assumed stability of those symbols.

Overall, the object of the satire seems to be the gullibility of those, especially crusading kings, who place reliance on the efficacy of those symbols, and we must understand that at least some of the potential target audience for crusade preaching and propaganda were prepared to find the whole notion of crusading an appropriate subject for Renart's scatological humour as well as, or instead of, an opportunity for spiritual advancement.

Part II
Relations between the West and Byzantium

Eyeing up Eunuchs: Western Perceptions of Byzantine Cultural Difference

Shaun Tougher

This paper will explore western reactions to an infamous aspect of Byzantine civilization: the eunuch. Westerners could find the presence of eunuchs in the Byzantine Empire worthy of comment, and such comments could form part of more general assessments of Byzantium. This is also true of western responses to other eastern cultures, such as Persian, Arab, Turkish, and Chinese. Such attitudes have been categorized as Orientalism, a concept made famous by the work of Edward Said.[1] Although he concentrates mainly on the modern period, Said argues that Orientalism can be traced back to Ancient Greece, when views of Achaemenid Persia were formulated. He emphasizes in particular the example of Aeschylus's *The Persians*,[2] but a range of other material could be cited. Worthy of note is Euripides's depiction of the Phrygian slave of Helen of Troy in his *Orestes*, not only for the characterization of an easterner, but also for the fact that the Phrygian slave might be a eunuch.[3]

[1] Edward Said, *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient* (London: Routledge, 1978; repr. London: Penguin Books, 1995). It should be noted that Said does not consider eunuchs in this work. Interest in the field of Orientalism has not waned. Said's work has been reprinted several times, and see also, for instance, Alain Grosrichard, *The Sultan's Court: European Fantasies of the East*, trans. by Liz Heron (London: Verso, 1998; French original, *Structure du sérail: La fiction du despotisme asiatique dans l'Occident classique* (Paris: Seuil, 1979)), and Ruth B. Yeazell, *Harems of the Mind: Passages of Western Art and Literature* (New Haven: Yale University Press: 2000).

[2] Said, *Orientalism*, p. 21.

[3] See, for instance, R. Witt, 'The Other Castrati', in *Eunuchs in Antiquity and Beyond*, ed. by Shaun Tougher (London: The Classical Press of Wales and Duckworth, 2002), pp. 235–60 (pp. 241–42).

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Stereotypical hostile views of the east persisted into late antiquity. A prime example is Claudian's *In Eutropium*, which has the added significance of being an attack on the east which is focused on the figure of a eunuch, Eutropius the grand chamberlain (*praepositus sacri cubiculi*).[4] Thus eunuchs could be bound up with depictions of the east. Despite their Roman inheritance, the Byzantines were subject to stereotyping by westerners. As Ciggaar observes, for instance, the Byzantines 'were often considered to be arrogant and effeminate'.[5] They were also synonymous with luxury and deceit. A loud and infamous western voice on Byzantium is Liudprand of Cremona, who visited Constantinople in the tenth century and wrote about his experiences.[6] He virtually nominates himself for inclusion in this paper, and will be the starting point for it. I will then turn to accounts of other western travellers to the Byzantine Empire, culminating with those relating to the capture of Constantinople in 1204. (These other accounts are those of Fulcher of Chartres; Odo of Deuil; Robert of Clari; Geoffroy of Villehardouin.[7]) I limit myself to this timeframe since, as Ciggaar says, it was 'In the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries [that] people became more and more aware of the differences between the Western and Eastern halves of Europe'.[8]

Before examining the specified authors and texts, it is useful to make some initial general remarks about eunuchs and the west. In her survey of the attractions of Constantinople for western travellers, Ciggaar includes the imperial court and emphasizes that it featured eunuchs.[9] She asserts 'large numbers of eunuchs were

[4] See, for instance, Jacqueline Long, *Claudian's 'In Eutropium': Or, How, When, and Why to Slander a Eunuch* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1996).

[5] Krijnie N. Ciggaar, *Western Travellers to Constantinople: The West and Byzantium, 962–1204; Cultural and Political Relations* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), p. 19.

[6] On Liudprand and his embassies, see, for instance, Karl J. Leyser, 'Ends and Means in Liudprand of Cremona', in *Byzantium and the West, c. 850–c. 1200*, ed. by James D. Howard-Johnston (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1988), pp. 119–43; and C. M. F. Schummer, 'Liudprand of Cremona — A Diplomat?', in *Byzantine Diplomacy*, ed. by Jonathan Shepard and Simon Franklin (Aldershot: Variorum, 1992), pp. 197–201.

[7] On western responses to Byzantium, see also Angeliki E. Laiou, 'Byzantium and the West', in *Byzantium: A World Civilization*, ed. by Angeliki E. Laiou and Henry Maguire (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1992), pp. 61–79. For the purpose of her article Laiou creates 'two imaginary Westerners' who travel through the empire in the twelfth century. She describes their reactions to Byzantine civilisation, such as the emperor and his court, but she does not refer to eunuchs.

[8] Ciggaar, *Western Travellers*, p. ix.

[9] Ciggaar, *Western Travellers*, esp. p. 56.

to be found among the [Byzantine] emperor's servants, in all ranks. This was a phenomenon unknown in the West'. The inference is that westerners would have been quick to notice or comment on this aspect of Byzantine culture, not being used to eunuchs themselves. Thus one is confronted with the concept of eunuchs as an eastern phenomenon. It should not be forgotten, however, that when eunuchs became a staple element of the Roman imperial court in late antiquity (primarily in the role of chamberlains), both the eastern and western spheres of the empire utilized them.[10] One of the most famous grand chamberlains of the fourth century was Eusebius, who served under the Emperor Constantius II (337–61).[11] But Constantius did not reside solely in the east at Constantinople or Antioch. In the first half of the 350s he was based in the west, at Milan, and had Eusebius with him. Other examples of court eunuchs operating in the west are not hard to find. It should be appreciated, then, that in the later Roman Empire eunuchs were a general imperial phenomenon, rather than an eastern one. Even after the fall of the Roman Empire in the west, eunuchs were not unfamiliar there as a concept or indeed a reality.[12] For instance, there is evidence to suggest that the Ostrogothic court maintained the use of eunuchs.[13] Also, Byzantine eunuchs visited the west. In the sixth century there is the famous case of Narses, the eunuch commander and governor primarily associated with the Emperor Justinian I (527–65).[14] In the late eighth century the Empress Eirene (797–802) despatched the eunuch Elissaios to the west to train Charlemagne's daughter Rotrud, who was engaged to her son Constantine VI.[15] Similarly, in the tenth century, in the time of Otto I, Byzantine eunuchs came to the west to instruct his niece Hadwig, who was to marry Romanos the son of Constantine VII (945–59).[16] Eunuchs could also be

[10] On the court eunuchs of the later Roman Empire, see Keith Hopkins, *Conquerors and Slaves* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), pp. 172–96.

[11] On Eusebius, see James E. Dunlap, 'The Office of the Grand Chamberlain in the Later Roman and Byzantine Empires', in *Two Studies in Later Roman and Byzantine Administration*, ed. by Arthur E. R. Boak and James E. Dunlap (New York: Macmillan, 1924), pp. 161–324 (pp. 260–70).

[12] See for instance Matthew S. Kuefler, 'Castration and Eunuchism in the Middle Ages', in *Handbook of Medieval Sexuality*, ed. by Vern L. Bullough and James A. Brundage (New York: Garland, 1996), pp. 279–306; and Susan Tuchel, *Kastration im Mittelalter* (Düsseldorf: Droste, 1998).

[13] Dunlap, 'Grand chamberlain', p. 223.

[14] On Narses, see for example, Dunlap, 'Grand Chamberlain', pp. 284–99.

[15] See, for instance, Judith Herrin, 'Theophano: Considerations on the Education of a Byzantine Empress', in *The Empress Theophano: Byzantium and the West at the Turn of the First Millennium*, ed. by Adelbert Davids (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 64–85 (p. 70).

[16] Ciggaar, *Western Travellers*, p. 207. See also Herrin, 'Theophano', p. 71.

sent to the west as ambassadors; in 948 in Venice, Liudprand met the eunuch Solomon, who had been on an embassy to Spain and Saxony.[17] Byzantines who came to live in the west could bring eunuchs with them. In the early eleventh century Maria Argyropoula was married to Giovanni Orsoleo, son of the Doge of Venice, Pietro Orsoleo. In Venice she maintained her own cultural customs, including the use of eunuchs, customs which could be seen as luxurious and indulgent.[18]

Eunuchs did not just come from the east, however. When Liudprand visited the Emperor Constantine VII he gave him as a gift four eunuchs, whom he had purchased in the west from the merchants of Verdun.[19] The eunuch industry here was primarily intended to supply the needs of Muslim Spain.[20] Liudprand also made it clear in his *Antapodosis* that acts of castration could occur in Italy: Tedbald, the marquess of Camerino and Spoleto, castrated a number of Greek prisoners of war, and is reported to have said to their general 'I understand that your holy emperor attaches a special value to eunuchs, and therefore I have hastened to send him a few with my respects, and by God's grace will send him more very soon'.[21] Further, eunuchs did feature in their traditional role in a western Christian court: the Norman Kingdom of Sicily, established by Roger II in 1130.[22] The Norman adoption of the Arab or Byzantine use of eunuchs at court mirrors the earlier Hellenistic case of Macedonian rule in Egypt and Asia.

[17] Liudprand of Cremona, 'Antapodosis', in *Die Werke Liudprands von Cremona*, ed. by J. Becker, MGH, Scriptores rerum Germanicarum, 3rd edn (Hannover: Hahn, 1915), bk 6. 4 (hereafter cited as 'Antapodosis'). For a translation, see Liudprand of Cremona, *The Embassy to Constantinople and Other Writings*, trans. by F. A. Wright (London: Routledge, 1930; repr. London: Everyman, 1993), pp. 1–156. See also Ciggaar, *Western Travellers*, p. 299.

[18] See Ciggaar, *Western Travellers*, p. 266. On Maria Argyropoula, see also Donald M. Nicol, *Byzantium and Venice: A Study in Diplomatic and Cultural Relations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 46–47.

[19] Liudprand of Cremona, 'Antapodosis', bk 6. 6.

[20] On the export of eunuchs from Spain also, see Ronald Segal, *Islam's Black Slaves: The History of Africa's Other Black Diaspora* (London: Atlantic, 2001), p. 80.

[21] Liudprand of Cremona, 'Antapodosis', bk 4. 9–10.

[22] On eunuchs and the Norman Kingdom, see for instance, Jeremy Johns, *Arabic Administration in Norman Sicily: The Royal Dīwān* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 212–15; Hugo Falcandus, *The History of the Tyrants of Sicily by 'Hugo Falcandus', 1154–69*, trans. by Graham A. Loud and Thomas Wiedemann (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1998); and now J. C. Birk, 'From Borderlands to Borderlines: Narrating the Past of Twelfth-Century Sicily', in *Multicultural Europe and Cultural Exchange in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. by James P. Helfers (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), pp. 9–31 (pp. 19–23).

Thus it is clear that the west had had experience of eunuchs, was still familiar with eunuchs as a concept and a reality (especially, of course, in those areas which had been under Byzantine or Arab dominance), and did appreciate that Byzantium had a taste for eunuchs. With these qualifications in mind, the views of the western authors can now be explored.

As noted above, one author virtually nominates himself for particular discussion: Liudprand of Cremona. Liudprand wrote accounts of two visits to the imperial court in Constantinople, one in 949–50 on embassy to Constantine VII (913–59), the other in 968 on embassy to Nikephoros II Phokas (963–69). I shall begin by focusing on Liudprand's account of his second visit, for it includes more sustained comment on eunuchs, and is the more familiar treatment of Byzantium by him, since it is notoriously hostile.[23] Liudprand had been sent in 968 by the German Emperor Otto I to negotiate a dynastic marriage, but relations with Byzantium were tense given Otto's imperial claim and his campaigning in Southern Italy. Liudprand's negativity incorporated comment on eunuchs. Referring to a eunuch commander of Byzantine naval forces sent to Italy by the emperor, he interpreted this as a deliberate insult to Otto, since the eunuch was not a real man, but only a sort of man (*hominem quandam*) as he had ceased to be male but was not female.[24] This attitude was also expressed when Liudprand mentioned another eunuch general who had been captured by the Saracens in Sicily three years previously. He described the eunuch as being of neither gender (*qui neutrius erat generis*), and pointedly reported that the Saracens thought it beneath them to kill him, though they killed the other general Manuel.[25] Gender also comes to the fore in Liudprand's rant following the confiscation of purple clothing he had bought in Constantinople to take to the west, a deprivation that had been effected by the eunuch Christopher the *patrikios* and three others. Liudprand exclaimed:

> How unworthy, how shameful it is, that these soft, effeminate, long-sleeved, hooded, veiled, lying, neutral-gendered [*neutros*], idle creatures should go clad in purple,

[23] Liudprand of Cremona, *Relatione de legatione Constantinopolitana*, ed. and trans. by Brian Scott (London: Bristol Classical, 1993). For an alternative translation, see *Mission to Constantinople: Liutprand of Cremona, 968 AD*, trans. by Ernest F. Henderson (Lawrence: Coronado, 1972).

[24] *Relatione de legatione Constantinopolitana*, ed. by Scott, p. 29.

[25] *Relatione de legatione Constantinopolitana*, ed. by Scott, p. 43. Scott, in *Relatione de legatione Constantinopolitana*, p. 83, identifies the eunuch as the *patrikios* Niketas, the brother of the *protovestiarios* Michael.

> while you heroes — strong men, namely, skilled in war, full of faith and love, reverencing God, full of virtues — may not![26]

Liudprand was also irritated by the fact that eunuchs could become clergy in the Orthodox Church. This was inspired by his encounter with the eunuch bishop of Leukas, who received him discourteously.[27] Liudprand railed against eunuch bishops generally, asserting that this was against canon law.[28] This episode was shortly preceded by the observation that the Emperor Romanos I Lekapenos (920–44) had made his son Theophylact, a eunuch, patriarch of Constantinople.[29] So, through his discussions of eunuchs, the divergent nature of Byzantium (in the specific matters of gender and church practice) comes to the fore.[30]

Liudprand's account of his previous visit to Constantinople in 949–50 was included in his earlier *Antapodosis*, and presented a rather different vision. This time, travelling on behalf of Berengar of Lombardy, and visiting the Emperor Constantine VII, he evinced awe and pleasure. Eunuchs featured once again in the account, appearing as both agents and trappings of the court. He recalled that the eunuch high chamberlain (*parakoimomenos*) was one of the guardians of the young Constantine VII;[31] that he had met the Byzantine ambassador the eunuch Solomon in Venice, and sailed with him to Constantinople;[32] and how he was escorted into the presence of the emperor supported by two eunuchs.[33] These recollections of eunuchs drew no negative comment. Intriguingly, Liudprand also revealed how he deliberately played to the Byzantine love of eunuchs: amongst the gifts he had brought for the emperor were four young eunuchs.[34] Liudprand

[26] *Relatione de legatione Constantinopolitana*, ed. by Scott, p. 54. The translation is from Henderson, *Mission to Constantinople*, p. 43.

[27] *Relatione de legatione Constantinopolitana*, ed. by Scott, p. 63.

[28] Self-castrates were banned from serving as clergy by the Council of Nicaea in AD 325.

[29] *Relatione de legatione Constantinopolitana*, ed. by Scott, p. 62.

[30] Given his tendency to emphasize eunuchs it seems odd that Liudprand did not declare the eunuch status of the infamous Basil the *parakoimomenos*, who was one of the key court men to quiz him initially: *Relatione de legatione Constantinopolitana*, ed. by Scott, p. 15. Perhaps he was more circumspect with regard to Basil since he was related to the Macedonian house, the emperors of which (Basil II and Constantine VIII) Liudprand displayed loyalty towards.

[31] Liudprand of Cremona, 'Antapodosis', bk 3. 26. Liudprand showed his familiarity with Byzantium by using the correct terminology for the office. The eunuch in question is Constantine the Paphlagonian.

[32] Liudprand of Cremona, 'Antapodosis', bk 6. 4.

[33] Liudprand of Cremona, 'Antapodosis', bk 6. 5.

[34] These are termed carzimasians. They had their penises removed as well as their testicles.

took great satisfaction in recalling that, of the gifts he brought, the emperor appreciated the eunuchs the most. In the *Antapodosis*, Liudprand's presentation of eunuchs conveys his intimacy with Byzantium and his acceptance by the court. It is clear, then, that Liudprand associated eunuchs with Byzantium, and could deploy them in different ways to create different images of Byzantium and of himself. But what did other western travellers make of eunuchs in Byzantium, and to what ends did they utilize them, if any? I shall consider the accounts of the other authors in chronological order.

Fulcher of Chartres was a cleric on the First Crusade, who went on to become the chaplain of Baldwin of Boulogne (one of the main leaders of the First Crusade who became king of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem in 1100) and to produce a chronicle of the First Crusade, the *Deeds of the Franks on their Pilgrimage to Jerusalem*.[35] The account is largely positive about the Byzantines, despite some tensions that arose with the Emperor Alexios I Komnenos (1081–1118), and seems to have been designed to encourage future pilgrims. Eunuchs feature once in the account, when Fulcher recorded the presence of the crusaders at Constantinople, where they arrived on 14 May 1097. He provided a glowing account of the city, beginning with the oft-quoted exclamation 'Oh, what an excellent and beautiful city!'[36] He continued:

> How many monasteries, and how many palaces there are in it, of wonderful work skilfully fashioned! How many marvellous works are to be seen in the streets and districts of the town! It is a great nuisance to recite what an opulence of goods are found there; of gold, of silver, of many kinds of mantles, and of holy relics. In every season, merchants, in frequent sailings, bring to that place everything that man might need.[37]

Fulcher concluded by estimating that about twenty thousand eunuchs were kept in the city.[38] Like Liudprand, then, Fulcher drew attention to eunuchs

[35] Fulcher of Chartres, *Fulcheri Carnotensis Historia Hierosolymitana*, ed. by Heinrich Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg: Winter, 1913). For a partial translation see M. E. McGinty, 'The Chronicle of Fulcher of Chartres', in *The First Crusade: The Chronicle of Fulcher of Chartres and Other Source Materials*, ed. by Edward Peters (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1971), pp. 24–90. For a full translation, see *Fulcher of Chartres: A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem*, ed. by. Harold S. Fink, trans, by Frances R. Ryan (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1969).

[36] See for example Ruth Macrides, 'Constantinople: The Crusaders' Gaze', in *Travel in the Byzantine World*, ed. by Ruth Macrides (Aldershot: Variorum, 2002), pp. 193–212 (p. 196).

[37] McGinty, 'The Chronicle of Fulcher of Chartres', bk 1. 9, p. 41.

[38] On Fulcher's comments see also Ciggaar, *Western Travellers*, p. 170. Fink in *Fulcher of Chartres: A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem*, ed. by Fink and trans. by Ryan, p. 79 n. 2,

as a distinguishing feature of Byzantine society. Further, he did so with awe and to emphasize the amazing nature of Constantinople and the incredible wealth it possessed. While this does not appear to be a hostile remark, it is still an expression of Orientalism, indicating the distinct and exotic nature of Byzantium.

The account of Odo of Deuil, *The Journey of Louis VII to the East*,[39] serves as a strong contrast to Fulcher's, for part of the purpose of Louis's chaplain was to provide a warning about the Byzantines and a record of their evil deeds.[40] The negative stereotypes tumble out: Greeks are expert flatterers, they are deceivers, and they 'degenerated entirely into women' ('Graeci penitus frangebantur in feminas').[41] The different spin is dramatically reflected by Odo's contrasting vision of Constantinople, where Louis arrived in October 1147. After an initial positive description, Odo adds:

> The city itself is squalid and fetid and in many places harmed by permanent darkness [...] there murders and robberies and other crimes which love the darkness are committed...just as she surpasses other cities in wealth, so, too, does she surpass them in vice.[42]

One might expect Odo to exploit the subject of eunuchs to emphasize his negative take on Byzantium, as Liudprand had done, but although he did mention eunuchs he used them in a rather different way. Describing how the Emperor Manuel I Komnenos (1143–80) provided the French with Byzantine clergy to help celebrate the feast of St Denis (9 October), Odo remarked that this select group:

> made a favourable impression because of their sweet chanting; for the mingling of voices, the heavier with the light, the eunuch's, namely, with the manly voice (for many of them were eunuchs), softened the hearts of the Franks. Also, they gave the onlookers pleasure by the graceful bearing and gentle clapping of hands and genuflexions.[43]

comments that 'Fulcher, like other unsophisticated Westerners, believed that the Byzantine emperors kept harems and large numbers of eunuchs in their service'. This seems rather harsh, since eunuchs were indeed a feature of the Byzantine imperial system.

[39] Odo of Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici VII in Orientem,* ed. and trans. by Virginia G. Berry (New York: Columbia University Press, 1948).

[40] Odo of Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici VII*, ed. and trans. by Berry, p. 99.

[41] Odo of Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici VII*, ed. and trans. by Berry, pp. 27, 13, and 57.

[42] The translation is from Odo of Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici VII*, ed. and trans. by Berry, pp. 63–67.

[43] Odo of Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici VII*, ed. and trans. by Berry, p. 69. For comment on

The positive impact of the eunuch clergy surprises, given that the west did not approve of this feature of Byzantine culture. But a negative message does emerge. Odo commented:

> We recall these favours on the part of the emperor so that there may be manifest the treachery of him who simulated the friendship which we are accustomed to show only to our most intimate friends, while he harboured a feeling which we could not have appeased save by our very death.

So, the favourable impact of the ritual and music hid the emperor's hostility, just as the surface glamour of Constantinople hid its dark underbelly.

Key accounts of the fall of Constantinople in 1204 by westerners who were on the Fourth Crusade are those of Robert of Clari and Geoffroy of Villehardouin.[44] However, whilst both had much to say about Constantinople and the Byzantines, Villehardouin had nothing to say about eunuchs and Robert only mentioned a eunuch when recounting a detail of the history of John the Vlach.[45] In Robert's account there is an echo of Fulcher's estimation of the number of eunuchs in Constantinople, though it referred to a different set of people: Robert reported that there was estimated to be about thirty thousand priests ('both monks and others') in the city.[46]

This almost complete lack of mention of eunuchs can seem somewhat surprising. At the moment of conquest, the attainment of domination of the Greek east by the Latin west, the figure of the effeminate eunuch as a symbol of the effeminate east is not appealed to. How can one account for this? A number of possibilities suggest themselves. There is the view that the eunuch was no longer

the attraction of Orthodox music to some westerners, see Ciggaar, *Western Travellers*, pp. 50–51. On eunuchs and music in Byzantium, see for instance Witt, 'The Other Castrati', pp. 245–48, and Neil Moran, 'Byzantine Castrati', *Plainsong and Medieval Music*, 11 (2002), 99–112.

[44] Robert de Clari, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, ed. by Philippe Lauer, Classiques français du moyen âge, 40 (Paris: Champion, 1924). For a translation, see Robert de Clari, *The Conquest of Constantinople*, trans. by Edgar Holmes McNeal (New York: Columbia University Press, 1936; repr. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996). Geoffroi de Villehardouin, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, ed. by Edmond Faral, Classiques français du moyen âge, 18–19, 2 vols, 2nd edn (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1961). For a translation, see Joinville and Villehardouin, *Chronicle of the Crusades*, trans by M. R. B. Shaw (London: Penguin, 1963), pp. 29–160.

[45] Robert de Clari, *The Conquest of Constantinople*, ed. by McNeal, p. 87. The lack of mention of eunuchs also marks Gunther of Pairis' *Hystoria Constantinopolitana*. For an edition and translation, see *The Capture of Constantinople: The 'Historia Constantinopolitana' of Gunther of Pairis*, trans. by Alfred J. Andrea (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 1997).

[46] Robert de Clari, *The Conquest of Constantinople*, ed. by McNeal, p. 112.

such a staple feature of Byzantine society by the twelfth century, a development commonly associated with the advent of the Komnenian dynasty.[47] However, although the heyday of powerful court eunuchs may have been over, it is clear that eunuchs had not disappeared from court, and in fact under the dynasty of the Angeloi (1185–1204) there is evidence that eunuchs were regaining their prominence.[48] Perhaps, then, Robert of Clari and Villehardouin simply did not see any eunuchs themselves. Certainly Robert was only in the city after it had fallen and when many Byzantines had fled. Yet Villehardouin had visited the emperor and the court several times, so it is likely that he did encounter some eunuchs. One assumes that eunuchs would have highly visible to Villehardouin due to their physical distinctiveness: their beardlessness, their high voices, and their long limbs.[49] Yet, even if it is the case that neither of them had personal experience of eunuchs, is this really reason not to mention them? Perhaps there is an element of westernization in their depiction of Byzantine society, which precluded the acknowledgment of eunuchs. If they were indeed depicting Byzantium in a way that suited them, maybe eunuchs were excluded for other reasons too. Allusion to these effeminate beings might have demeaned the conquest, or even distracted from the presentation of the Greeks in general as being suspect.

It is difficult to be sure, then, why these authors did not play the eunuch card. However, maybe this is the wrong question anyway. Perhaps one should be asking why they should mention eunuchs? Our own expectations may be an issue here. It is striking that of the other travellers considered, only Liudprand had a sustained interest in eunuchs. The references in Fulcher and Odo, despite their interest and significance, are not that pronounced. Could it be that eunuchs were not an essential signifier of Byzantium for westerners? Further, the attitude expressed regarding eunuchs can vary, and can be positive. Blanket revulsion is not encountered. These reflections tie in well with the view that western appreciation of the east presents a more complex reality, as historians

[47] See, for instance, Rodolphe Guilland, 'Les Eunuques dans l'empire byzantine: Etude de titulaire et de prosopographie byzantines', *Revue des Etudes Byzantines*, 1 (1943), 197–238 (p. 234), and Shaun Tougher, 'Byzantine Eunuchs: An Overview, with Special Reference to their Creation and Origin', in *Women, Men and Eunuchs: Gender in Byzantium*, ed. by Liz James (London: Routledge, 1997), pp. 168–84 (pp. 172–73).

[48] See for example Guilland, 'Les Eunuques', p. 233; and Alexander Kazhdan and Giles Constable, *People and Power in Byzantium: An Introduction to Modern Byzantine Studies* (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1982), p. 136.

[49] See for example Shaun Tougher, *The Eunuch in Byzantine History and Society* (London: Routledge, 2008), pp. 32–34.

such as Ciggaar and Yeazell have indicated. Ciggaar emphasizes positive western responses to Byzantium, rather than the familiar negative stereotypes. Yeazell emphasizes the heterogeneity of the projections of the harem, and comments:

> Rather than a systematic knowledge of the East that is coextensive with the wish to conquer it — as in Edward Said's immensely influential *Orientalism* (1978) — the representations in this book reveal the surprising range of uses to which men and women can put their imagination of difference.[50]

Thus, when it comes to western treatments of the east, it needs to be appreciated that there could exist individuality and variety rather than a single monolithic vision.

[50] Yeazell, *Harems of the Mind*, p. 8.

Collusion with the Infidel as a Pretext for Western Military Action Against Byzantium (1180–1204)*

Jonathan Harris

During the first century of the crusades, rumours were constantly circulating in western Europe that the Byzantine emperor had attempted to destroy the enterprise by secretly colluding with Muslim powers. Latin accounts of the First Crusade accused Alexios I Komnenos (1081–1118) of plotting with the Seljuk and Danishmend Turks and with the Fatimids of Egypt to bring about the downfall of the crusaders.[1] At the time of the Second Crusade, it was widely reported that Alexios's grandson, Manuel I Komnenos (1143–80), had deliberately incited the Turks of Asia Minor to attack the

* The following works were published too late to be taken into account in this article: Savvas Neoclous, 'Byzantine-Muslim Conspiracies against the Crusades: History and Myth', *Journal of Medieval History*, 36 (2010), 253–74; Savvas Neoclous, 'The Byzantines and Saladin: Opponents of the Third Crusade?', *Crusades*, 9 (2010), 87–106; Graham A. Loud, *The Crusade of Frederick Barbarossa: The History of the Expedition of the Emperor Frederick and Related Texts* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010).

[1] *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum (The Deeds of the Franks and Other Pilgrims to Jerusalem)*, ed. and trans. by Rosalind Hill (London: Nelson, 1962; repr. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), p. 17; Raymond of Aguilers, *Le 'Liber'*, ed. by John Hugh Hill and Laurita Lyttleton Hill (Paris: Geuthner, 1969), p. 110; Ekkehard of Aura, *Chronicon universale*, ed. by D. G. Waitz, MGH SS, 6 (Hannover: Hahn, 1844), pp. 33–245 (pp. 220–21); Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History*, ed. and trans. by Marjorie Chibnall, 6 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969–80), v (1975), pp. 335, 339; William, archbishop of Tyre, *Willelmi Tyrensis archiepiscopi chronicon: Guillaume de Tyre, Chronique*, ed. by R. B. C. Huygens, CCCM, 63, 63A (Turnhout: Brepols, 1986), bk x, chap. 12 (13), pp. 466–67; William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done beyond the Sea*, trans. by Emily A. Babcock and August C. Krey, 2 vols (New York: Columbia University Press, 1943–76), i, 432.

Languages of Love and Hate: Conflict, Communication, and Identity in the Medieval Mediterranean, ed. by Sarah Lambert and Helen Nicholson, International Medieval Research, 15 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), 99–117 BREPOLS PUBLISHERS 10.1484/M.IMR-EB.1.101132

French and German armies as they passed through their territory.[2] Later, in the 1190s, it was claimed that Isaac II Angelos (1185–95) had entered into a military alliance with the Ayyubid sultan, Saladin, promising to hold up the army of the western emperor, Frederick I Barbarossa (1152–90), as it moved through the Balkans on its way to the Holy Land.[3]

These repeated accusations pose a problem of interpretation. They appear mainly, although not exclusively, in western European, Latin sources, with little supporting evidence in Byzantine writers such as Anna Komnene, who protested that Alexios I had gone to all possible lengths to secure the success of the First Crusade.[4] The difficulty therefore is to decide whether these charges represent the fabrications of Latin propaganda or a guilty secret, carefully erased from the record by Byzantine writers. Not surprisingly, the secondary literature is divided between these two approaches.

Some scholars have accepted the claims in western literature at face value and argue that they do constitute evidence of military cooperation between Byzantines and Muslims with a view to territorial expansion in Syria and Palestine, especially during the 1190s.[5] As well as western sources, those who take this line can point to abundant, if by no means conclusive, Arabic evidence, such as

[2] Odo of Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici VII in Orientem*, ed. and trans. by Virginia G. Berry (New York: Columbia University Press, 1948), pp. 89, 109; *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, ed. by Léopold Delisle, 24 vols (Paris: Palmé, 1869–1904), xv (1878), 496.

[3] Magnus of Reichersberg, *Annales*, ed. by Wilhelm Wattenbach, MGH SS, 17 (Hannover: Hahn, 1861), pp. 439–534 (p. 511).

[4] Anna Komnene, *Alexias*, ed. by Diether Reinsch and Athanasios Kambylis, Corpus fontium historiae Byzantinae, 40, 2 vols (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2001), II, 428; *The Alexiad*, trans. by Edgar R. Ashton Sewter and Peter Frankopan (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 2009), pp. 400–01.

[5] Charles M. Brand, 'The Byzantines and Saladin, 1185–1192: Opponents of the Third Crusade', *Speculum*, 37 (1962), 167–81; Charles M. Brand, *Byzantium Confronts the West, 1180–1204* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1968), pp. 177–78; George Ostrogorsky, *A History of the Byzantine State*, trans. by Joan M. Hussey, 2nd edn (Oxford: Blackwell, 1968), p. 407; Andrew S. Ehrenkreutz, *Saladin* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1972), pp. 211–12; John Godfrey, *1204: The Unholy Crusade* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980), p. 19; Robert L. Nicholson, *Joscelyn III and the Fall of the Crusader States* (Leiden: Brill, 1973), pp. 152–53; Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: A Short History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), pp. 111–12; Jonathan Phillips, *Defenders of the Holy Land: Relations between the Latin East and the West, 1119–1187* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), pp. 89–90, 250–51; Michael Angold, *The Byzantine Empire, 1025–1204*, 2nd edn (Harlow: Longman, 1997), p. 316; Jean Richard, *The Crusades, c. 1071–c. 1291* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 182, 198–99; Michael Angold, *The Fourth Crusade* (Harlow: Longman, 2003), p. 36; Andrew Jotischky, *Crusading and the Crusader States* (Harlow: Longman, 2004), p. 122.

a letter written by Isaac II Angelos to Saladin, recounting the fate of Frederick Barbarossa's crusade.[6] Others claim that most of accounts of Byzantine collusion are unwitting or deliberate misinterpretations of the friendly contacts that the Byzantines had always tried to maintain with Muslim powers where possible, and are no evidence of any calculated attempt to sabotage the Latin position in the East.[7] After all, Byzantium was not the only Christian power to negotiate with the Muslims. The Venetians and Genoese made treaties with Saladin in 1174 and 1177–78 and apparently supplied him with the war materials he needed to pursue his campaign against the Frankish states.[8] Raymond III, count of Tripoli, was happy to woo Saladin's help in the complex dynastic struggles of the kingdom of Jerusalem.[9] Thus Byzantium, whose dealings with the Muslims were no different from many other Christian powers, was singled out for defamation.

Neither approach is entirely satisfactory. On the one hand, it is quite clear that the Byzantines were the victims of a determined disinformation campaign in western Europe which portrayed them not only as traitors to Christendom, but

[6] Baha al-Din ibn Shaddad, *The Rare and Excellent History of Saladin*, trans. by Donald S. Richards (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), pp. 121–22; Abu Shama, *Le Livre des deux jardins: Histoire des deux règnes, celui de Nour ed-Dîn et celui de Salah ed-Dîn*, in *Recueil des historiens des Croisades: Historiens orientaux*, ed. by Académie Royale des inscriptions et belles-lettres, 5 vols (in 4) (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1872–1906), IV (1898), 3–522 (pp. 470–71).

[7] Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951–54), III, 12; Hans E. Mayer, review of Brand's 'The Byzantines and Saladin', in *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*, 18 (1962), 601–02; Hannes Möhring, *Saladin und der dritte Kreuzzug* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1980), pp. 171–89; Ralph-Johannes Lilie, 'Noch einmal zu dem Thema "Byzanz und die Kreuzfahrerstaaten"', in *Varia 1*, Poikila Byzantina, 4 (Bonn: Habelt, 1984), pp. 121–74 (pp. 142–63); Ralph-Johannes Lilie, *Byzantium and the Crusader States, 1095–1204*, trans. by J. C. Morris and Jean C. Ridings (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), pp. 230–39; Paul Stephenson, *Byzantium's Balkan Frontier: A Political Study of the Northern Balkans, 900–1204* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 299–300.

[8] Caffaro and others, *Annali Genovesi*, ed. by Luigi T. Belgrano and Cesare Imperiale di Sant'Angelo, 5 vols (Rome: Istituto sordo-muti, 1890–1929), II (1901), 11; Francesco Gabrieli, *Arab Historians of the Crusades*, trans. by E. J. Costello (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), pp. 114–15; Thomas F. Madden, *Enrico Dandolo and the Rise of Venice* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), pp. 60–61; Gerald W. Day, *Genoa's Response to Byzantium, 1155–1204* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988), p. 174; David Jacoby, 'The Supply of War Materials to Egypt in the Crusader Period', *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*, 25 (2001), 102–32.

[9] Gabrieli, *Arab Historians*, p. 115; Malcolm Cameron Lyons and D. E. P. Jackson, *Saladin: The Politics of Holy War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), p. 251.

also as effeminate, corrupt, and unworthy descendents of the ancient Greeks.[10] Yet to dismiss accounts of Byzantine cooperation with Muslim powers simply as a fabrication is not convincing either, given the evidence in Arabic sources for Byzantine emperors having dealings with Muslim powers which certainly could be interpreted as making common cause against the crusaders. This contribution will therefore approach the question in a different way. It will place Byzantium's dealings with Muslim powers during the period in the Crusades in the wider context of the empire's foreign policy and ideology. Within those parameters the Byzantines would have considered themselves to be acting entirely justifiably, since they aimed not at the overthrow of the Latin position in the East but to protect their own empire and ideology. In the highly charged atmosphere of the time, however, their conduct would inevitably be seen in the west as collusion. It was to be exaggerated and inflated, and was to prove a useful justification for crusade leaders when they wished to make attacks on Byzantine territory to seize supplies and plunder.

In order to establish these points, it is first necessary to explore the background of how the Byzantines interacted with the world around them and to remember that the aim of Byzantine foreign policy was not so much expansion of territory as the vindication of an ideology: that of *translatio imperii*, the transfer of empire. Twelfth-century Byzantines regarded the foundation of Constantinople by the Emperor Constantine (306–37) in 330 as a transfer of the capital of the Christian Roman empire from Rome and with it supreme authority in the Christian world. Constantinople thereby became not only the new Rome, a centre of worldly, political power, but also a second Jerusalem, a holy city in its own right. The emperors who reigned there were by right the Caesars whom Christ had commanded that all Christians should obey. The empire which they ruled was not just an ordinary princedom like any other. It was often described as the *Oikoumene*, a virtually untranslatable term but one meaning broadly 'the civilized world'.[11]

The persistence of this ideology undoubtedly dictated Byzantine foreign policy goals, which can be reduced to two overriding concerns. The first is unsurprising: the security of the all-important *Oikoumene*, which in practice often meant that

[10] Jonathan Harris, *Byzantium and the Crusades* (London: Hambledon, 2003), pp. 89–90.

[11] Anna Komnene, *Alexias*, I, 44 (trans. by Sewter and Frankopan, p. 39); Paul J. Alexander, 'The Strength of Empire and Capital as seen Through Byzantine Eyes', *Speculum*, 37 (1962), 339–57; Donald M. Nicol, 'Byzantine Political Thought', in *The Cambridge History of Medieval Political Thought*, ed. by J. H. Burns (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 51–79 (pp. 59–60); Dimitri Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth: Eastern Europe, 500–1453* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1971), pp. 117–19; Harris, *Byzantium and the Crusades*, pp. 22–28.

of the city of Constantinople, a pious duty every bit as compelling as the recovery of Jerusalem was to western Christians. The second aim was to secure recognition in the wider world of the claim of the emperor to be the supreme overlord of the Christian world and of the empire to be that unique state endorsed by God. It was even laid down in a Byzantine law code, the *Eisagoge*, which stated that it was the emperor's duty 'to guard and secure by his ability the powers which he already possesses' and 'to recover by sleepless care those that are lost'.[12] Unlike the first aim, however, it was hardly a realistic one, for the Byzantines must have been aware that obtaining even a theoretical recognition of the emperor's claims was unlikely in most parts of the Christian world. In practice they concentrated on those areas that lay close to their own territory, notably the Slav world of the Balkans and Russia and on Christians under Muslim rule in Syria, Palestine, and Egypt.

While the aims of Byzantine foreign policy were remarkably consistent and to some extent idealistic, the methods that could be used to achieve them varied from the practical to the downright perfidious. Military force was used when necessary, but subtler and safer methods were preferred. One of the favourite was that making friends with your enemy's enemy and urging him to do the fighting rather than doing it yourself. One emperor advised his son always to be on friendly terms with the Pechenegs, a semi-nomadic Turkic people living on the Byzantines' northern and northeastern frontier:

> So long as the emperor of the Romans is at peace with the Pechenegs, neither Russians nor Turks can come upon the Roman dominions by force of arms [...] for they fear the strength of this nation which the emperor can turn against them[13]

It went much further than that, however, for as Odo of Deuil remarked bitterly, the Byzantines believed that 'anything which is done for the holy empire cannot be considered perjury'.[14] Byzantine diplomacy was well accustomed to lies and

[12] J. Zepos and P. Zepos, *Jus Graecoromanum*, 8 vols (Athens: Lingenthal, 1931), II, 240–42; trans. in Ernest Barker, *Social and Political Thought in Byzantium from Justinian I to the Last Palaeologus* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1957), p. 89. In general, see Dimitri Obolensky, 'The Principles and Methods of Byzantine Diplomacy', *Actes du XII^e Congrès International d'Études Byzantines: Ochride, 10–16 septembre 1961*, 3 vols (Belgrade: Comité Yougoslave des Etudes Byzantines, 1963–64), I, 45–61 (pp. 52–56), repr. in Dimitri Obolensky, *Byzantium and the Slavs* (Crestwood: St Vladimir's Seminary, 1994), pp. 1–22.

[13] Constantine VII Porphyrogenitos, *De administrando imperio*, ed. by Guyla Moravcsik, trans. by R. J. H. Jenkins, Corpus fontium historiae Byzantinae, 1 (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1967), p. 51.

[14] Odo of Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici VII*, p. 57; Jonathan Shepard, 'Information,

manipulations, all in aid of the best possible cause. Byzantine interaction with its neighbours, therefore, is best summed up as a curious mixture of ideology and cynical pragmatism.

That same mixture can be seen at work in Byzantine dealings with the Muslim world. There had, of course, been hostilities between Byzantium and its Muslim neighbours from the time of the Islamic invasions of the seventh century and bitter struggles had taken place in northern Syria for hundreds of years. Yet the warfare was not unbroken. The Byzantine Church had no ideology of holy war which dictated a constant striving against enemies of the faith and which promised participants a spiritual reward. Instead, diplomacy was frequently resorted to and a sophisticated machinery for the exchange of prisoners and negotiating of treaties had grown up.[15]

Moreover, Muslim powers had a very important role to play in helping the Byzantines to achieve their ideological objectives. Up to 1099, the most important Christian shrine, the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, was under Muslim rule. The Byzantine emperors therefore sought recognition, from whichever Muslim power controlled Jerusalem, of their role as protector of the Holy Places and of Christians under Muslim rule. Although such an aim may seem peripheral to the work of statecraft and foreign policy, it was not an ideal that was restricted to medieval Byzantium. The Byzantine emperors passed it to their successors, the Tsars of Russia: it was the efforts of the Tsars to secure paramount influence in the Holy Places from the Ottoman authorities which sparked off the Crimean war in 1853.[16]

Disinformation and Delay in Byzantine Diplomacy', *Byzantinische Forschungen*, 10 (1985), 233–93 (pp. 235–37).

[15] Nicholas Oikonomides, 'The Concept of "Holy War" and Two Byzantine Ivories', in *Peace and War in Byzantium: Essays in Honor of George T. Dennis, S.J.*, ed. by Timothy S. Miller and John Nesbitt (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 1995), pp. 62–86; Angeliki E. Laiou, 'On Just War in Byzantium', in *To Hellenikon: Studies in Honor of Speros Vryonis, Jr.*, ed. by John S. Langdon (New Rochelle: Caratzas, 1993), pp. 153–77; Julian Chrysostomides, 'Byzantine Concepts of War and Peace', in *War, Peace and World Orders*, ed. by Anja V. Hartmann and Beatrice Heuser (London: Routledge, 2001), pp. 91–101 (pp. 99–100). It has been argued that some elements of holy war doctrine were widely believed in Byzantium, but that it never became the teaching of the Byzantine church: Tia M. Kolbaba, 'Fighting for Christianity: Holy War in the Byzantine Empire', *Byzantion*, 68 (1998), 194–221; Athēna Kolia-Dermitzaki, *The Byzantine 'Holy War': The Idea and Propagation of Religious War in Byzantium* [in Greek with English summary] (Athens: Basilopoulos, 1991), pp. 394–408.

[16] Alexander William Kinglake, *The Invasion of the Crimea: Its Origin, and an Account of its Progress down to the Death of Lord Raglan*, 8 vols (Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1863–87), I,

Physical conquest of Jerusalem had appeared to be a possibility in the later tenth century, when the Emperor John I Tzimiskes (969–76) had led a campaign into Syria and Palestine which had reached as far as Caesarea, within striking distance of Jerusalem. John had, however, prudently drawn back from his advanced position and the Byzantine frontier was stabilized in Northern Syria.[17] Thereafter, diplomacy was resorted to. In 1027 a treaty was made between the emperor and the Fatimid Caliph of Egypt, who then ruled Southern Syria and Palestine. It included clauses that provided for the rebuilding of the church of the Holy Sepulchre and it permitted the emperor to designate the patriarch of Jerusalem. In return, the Byzantines promised to repair one of the mosques in Constantinople, which existed for the use of visiting Muslim merchants. It would have its own muezzin and Friday prayers there would henceforth be said in the name of the Shi'ite Fatimid Caliph, rather than of his Abbasid rival in Baghdad.[18]

The policy was continued by successive emperors, and they adopted the usual tactic of playing off the various Muslim powers against each other. The treaty with the Fatimids was renewed in 1035 and again 1047. In 1055, however, the Seljuk Turks captured Baghdad and took the Abbasid caliphate under their protection. With this powerful new enemy on their frontiers, the Byzantines abandoned the Fatimids and made a treaty with the Seljuks: Friday prayer in the Constantinople mosque was now, once more, in the name of the Abbasid caliph. Nevertheless,

38–53; Andrew D. Lambert, *The Crimean War: British Grand Strategy, 1853–56* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990), pp. 9–13.

[17] Matthew of Edessa, *Chronicle*, in A. E. Dostourian, *Armenia and the Crusades* (Lanham: University Press of America, 1993), pp. 19–28; Paul E. Walker, 'The "Crusade" of John Tzimisces in the Light of New Arab Evidence', *Byzantion*, 47 (1977), 301–27; Ostrogorsky, *History*, pp. 297–98; Konstantinos Ikonomopoulos, 'Byzantium and Jerusalem, 813–975: From Indifference to Intervention', in *Papers from the First and Second Postgraduate Forums in Byzantine Studies: Sailing to Byzantium*, ed. by Savvas Neoclous (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2009), pp. 7–25.

[18] Muhammed Hamidullah, 'Nouveaux documents sur les rapports de l'Europe avec l'orient musulman au moyen âge', *Arabica*, 7 (1960), 281–300 (p. 289); Marius Canard, 'Byzantium and the Islamic World in the Middle of the Eleventh Century', in *Cambridge Medieval History*, planned by J. B. Bury, 9 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1957–67), IV: *The Byzantine Empire, Part I*, ed. by Joan M. Hussey (1966), 696–735 (p. 726); Abbas Hamdani, 'Byzantine-Fatimid Relations before the Battle of Mantzikert', *Byzantine Studies*, 1 (1974), 169–79 (p. 173); Steven Runciman, 'The Byzantine "Protectorate" in the Holy Land in the XI Century', *Byzantion*, 18 (1946–48), 207–15 (p. 208); Stephen W. Reinert, 'The Muslim Presence in Constantinople, 9th–15th Centuries: Some Preliminary Observations', in *Studies on the Internal Diaspora of the Byzantine Empire*, ed. by Hélène Ahrweiler and Angeliki E. Laiou (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1998), pp. 125–50 (pp. 135–40).

the emperors still kept in touch with the Fatimids, who held onto Jerusalem until 1071 and briefly regained it in 1099. In 1063 Constantine X Doukas arranged with the Fatimid Caliph for the exempt jurisdiction of the patriarch's quarter in Jerusalem and paid for a wall to be built around it.[19] In short, the Byzantines were prepared to talk to anybody, if in doing so they obtained security for the city of Constantinople and a recognition of the emperor's claims.

Those foreign policy aims did not change after the launch of the First Crusade in 1095. Once the kingdom of Jerusalem had been established, the Byzantine emperors sought to extract from the new rulers the type of concessions they had sought from the Fatimids and they were relatively successful in that. Manuel I secured the right to participate in the rebuilding and redecoration of the basilicas and monasteries in the Holy Land, including the church of the Holy Sepulchre and that of the Nativity in Bethlehem. From the reign of King Amalric I (1163–74), Byzantine clergy were allowed to perform the Greek liturgy every day at the church of the Holy Sepulchre.[20]

On the other hand, however, the Byzantines continued to regard the protection of Constantinople as a sacred duty taking precedence over all else, and that was where the trouble began. While the leaders of crusading expeditions to the Holy Land considered that it was the duty of the Byzantine emperor as a Christian to accompany them to Jerusalem and to assist them in every way,[21] the emperor himself had other ideas. There was a genuine fear in Constantinople that the greatest threat to the city was not the Muslims on the other side of the Bosporus but the passing crusade armies whose leaders were suspected of harbouring designs on imperial territory.[22]

[19] Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, trans. by Ernest A. Wallis-Budge, 2 vols (London: Oxford University Press, 1932), I, 195; William, archbishop of Tyre, *Chronicon*, bk IX, chap. 18, p. 443 (trans. by Babcock and Krey, I, 406–07); Hamdani, 'Byzantine-Fatimid Relations', pp. 174–75.

[20] *The Pilgrimage of John Phocas in the Holy Land (in the Year 1185 AD)*, trans. by Aubrey Stewart (London: Palestine Pilgrim Text Society, 1896), p. 19; Andrew Jotischky, 'Manuel Comnenus and the Reunion of the Churches: The Evidence of the Conciliar Mosaics in the Church of the Nativity in Bethlehem', *Levant*, 26 (1994), 207–24; Bernard Hamilton, 'Manuel I Comnenus and Baldwin IV of Jerusalem', in *Kathegetria: Essays Presented to Joan Hussey for her 80th Birthday*, ed. by Julian Chrysostomides (Camberley: Porphyrogenitus, 1988), pp. 353–75 (p. 368).

[21] Raymond of Aguilers, *Le 'Liber'*, p. 41.

[22] Anna Komnene, *Alexias*, I, 299 (trans. by Sewter and Frankopan, p. 277); John Kinnamos, *Rerum ab Ioanne et Alexio (sic) Comnenis Gestarum*, ed. by Augustus Meinecke, Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae (Bonn: Weber, 1836), p. 67; John Kinnamos, *The Deeds of John and Manuel Comnenus*, trans. by Charles.M. Brand (New York: Columbia University Press,

To defuse the perceived threat, a number of tactics were used. During the passage of the First Crusade through Byzantine territory in 1096–97, messengers plying between the different armies were intercepted on the emperor's orders to prevent the crusaders from linking up and making and assault on Constantinople. When Frederick Barbarossa's army was marching through the Balkans in 1189–90, Isaac II attempted to hamper its progress by blocking the roads with fallen trees.[23] More significantly, the emperors also resorted to the old ruse of contacting their enemy's enemy. They took it upon themselves to warn their Muslim neighbours of the approach of crusade armies and to urge them to take action against them. Alexios I seems to have alerted the ruler of Aleppo to the approach of the First Crusade in 1096 and in 1111 he urged the Turks of Damascus to attack the Latin settlers in Syria and drive them out before they became too firmly entrenched.[24] Manuel I urged the Turks of Asia Minor to attack the German and French armies of the Second Crusade.[25] Isaac II Angelos wrote to Saladin to warn him that Frederick Barbarossa's army was on the way to Syria.[26]

There can be no doubt that the Byzantines felt quite free to urge Muslims to attack Christians in this way for the evidence for these contacts comes not from remote western sources but from well-informed Arabic, Syriac, and even Byzantine ones. It is important, however, to remember that the security of Constantinople was the sole, limited aim of such tactics. It has been argued that the objective was the acquisition of territory. The treatment of the Second Crusade has been seen as an attempt to secure Byzantine interests in northern Syria and that of the Third

1976), p. 58; Niketas Choniates, *Historia*, ed. by J.-L. Van Dieten, Corpus fontium historiae Byzantinae, 11, 2 vols (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1975), I, 404; translated as *O City of Byzantium: Annals of Niketas Choniates*, trans. by Harry J. Magoulias (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1984), p. 222.

[23] Anna Komnene, *Alexias*, I, 309 (trans. by Sewter and Frankopan, p. 285); Choniates, *Historia*, I, 402–03 (trans. by Magoulias, pp. 221–22).

[24] Ibn al-Qalanisi, *The Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades*, trans. by Hamilton A. Rosskeen Gibb (London: Luzac, 1932), pp. 112–13; Claude Cahen, 'La Chronique abrégée d'Al-Azimi', *Journal Asiatique*, 230 (1938), 353–448 (p. 370); Carole Hillenbrand, *The Crusades: Islamic Perspectives* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999), p. 44.

[25] Choniates, *Historia*, I, 66–67 (trans. by Magoulias, p. 39); Michael the Syrian, *Chronique*, trans. by J.-B. Chabot, 4 vols (Paris: Leroux, 1899–1910), III (1905), 275–76; William R. Taylor, 'A New Syriac Fragment Dealing with Incidents in the Second Crusade', *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, 11 (1929–30), 120–30.

[26] Abu Shama, *Le Livre des deux jardins*, p. 389; Gabrieli, *Arab Historians*, p. 209.

Crusade as part of an alliance with Saladin by the terms of which the Byzantines would acquire large tracts of the Holy Land.[27] The writings of the Byzantines themselves make it clear that their aims were much more limited and defensive. The court orator, Eustathios of Thessalonica, describing Manuel I's handling of the Second Crusade, proclaimed that the emperor aimed at 'increasing the strength of the Empire and exhausting that of his opponents'. For the historian Niketas Choniates the objective was 'to inflict such harm so that these things should be indelible memorials for posterity, deterrents against attacking the Romans'.[28]

In some ways, Byzantine policy was tremendously clever. It neutralized the threat to Constantinople by embroiling two sets of potential enemies. Unfortunately, from another point of view, it was also very dangerous since it was hardly likely to endear the Byzantines to those who organized and participated in the crusades. What to the Byzantines was the use of any method to protect the city of Constantinople, to westerners would be treachery and active collusion with the infidel. Suspicions of the emperor had arisen as early as August 1099 when, following the crusader victory at the Battle of Ascalon, letters from the Byzantine emperor had been found in the captured Fatimid camp.[29] By the 1180s, however, suspicion had been replaced by frenzied accusation, largely as a result of two calamitous events. The first occurred in May 1182, when Andronikos Komnenos staged a *coup d'état* against the regency for the young Emperor Alexios II (1180–83) and led an army into Constantinople. His troops proceeded to carry out a massacre of all the western European residents of the city that they could find, an incident which, not surprisingly, gave the Byzantines the reputation in the west of hating all Latins.[30] The second calamity was the fall of Jerusalem to Saladin in October 1187, a disaster so terrible that it was imperative to find someone to blame.

[27] Phillips, *Defenders*, pp. 89–90; Brand, 'Byzantines and Saladin', pp. 168–69.

[28] Eustathios of Thessalonica, *Opuscula*, ed. by T. L. F. Tafel (Frankfurt: Moenum, 1832), p. 199, trans. in *Byzantine Empire*, trans. by Angold, p. 198; Choniates, *Historia*, I, 67 (trans. by Magoulias, p. 39).

[29] Raymond of Aguilers, *Le 'Liber'*, p. 110: 'Sciebat quod imperator Alexius usque ad mortem nobis inimicabatur. Unde nos litteras imperatoris Alexii de nobis factas invenimus confecto bello cum rege Babyloniorum apud Aschalonam in tentoriis eiusdem regis'.

[30] William, archbishop of Tyre, *Chronicon*, bk XXII, chap. 13 (12), pp. 1023–24 (trans. by Babcock and Krey, II, 464–67); Eustathios of Thessalonica, *The Capture of Thessaloniki*, trans. by J. R. Melville-Jones (Canberra: Australian Association for Byzantine Studies, 1988), pp. 33–35; Choniates, *Historia*, I, 250–51 (trans. by Magoulias, pp. 140–41); Brand, *Byzantium Confronts the West*, pp. 41–43.

Before long, ugly rumours were circulating in the west. The massacre of 1182, it was said, had been carried out with the help of the Saracens.[31] Afterwards, according to the German monk-chronicler called Magnus of Reichersberg, the new Emperor Andronikos I (1183–85) took steps to find an ally against the hated Latins. He soon had made contact with Saladin and proposed a treaty of alliance, an arrangement that was later ratified by his successor, Isaac II Angelos. The alleged agreement was that the emperor and the sultan were to make common cause against the Latin states of Syria and to divide the Holy Land between them if they were successful. Once the agreement had been made, Isaac supposedly wished to have his elder brother Alexios with him in Constantinople. Alexios was, at the time, a guest at Saladin's court at Damascus, and, on receiving his brother's summons, he travelled to the port of Acre in the kingdom of Jerusalem to take ship. There, however, he was arrested on the orders of Count Raymond of Tripoli and the prince of Antioch, who had got wind of Byzantine negotiations with the Ayyubids. According to the story, Isaac thereupon appealed to Saladin to attack the Latin states to liberate Alexios, and sent a fleet of eighty galleys in support. Although Isaac's ships were destroyed off Cyprus by a Sicilian fleet, Saladin was successful at Hattin and went on to conquer Jerusalem in October 1187.[32]

The rumours and stories did not end there. Following the capture of Jerusalem, Saladin was said to have sent an embassy to Constantinople armed with lavish gifts, an idol to be set up for public worship in Constantinople, and a barrel of poisoned wine for use against the Latins. So powerful was the poison that its very odour alone could kill, its efficacy having been tested on an unfortunate Latin prisoner.[33] According to Magnus of Reichersberg and other western writers, it was at the request of Saladin that Isaac attempted to destroy the army of the German emperor, Frederick I Barbarossa, as it passed through the Balkans in 1189–90, since he hoped by so doing to be rewarded with part of the Holy Land.[34]

[31] Robert of Torigny, *Chronicle*, in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I*, ed. by Richard Howlett, Rolls Series, 82, 4 vols (London: Longman, 1884–89), IV, 301–02, 307.

[32] Magnus of Reichersberg, *Annales*, p. 511.

[33] Magnus of Reichersberg, *Annales*, pp. 511–12; 'Letter of Conrad of Montferrat', in Roger of Wendover, *Liber qui dicitur Flores Historiarum*, ed. by Henry R. Hewlett, Rolls Series, 84, 3 vols (London: Longman, 1886–89), I, 153–54; Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, ed. by William Stubbs, Rolls Series, 51, 4 vols (London: Longman, 1868–71), II (1969), 355–56.

[34] Ansbert, *Historia de expeditione Friderici Imperatoris*, in *Quellen zur Geschichte des Kreuzzuges Kaiser Friedrichs I.*, ed. by A. Chroust, MGH, Scriptores rerum Germanicarum, nova series, 5 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1928), pp. 1–115 (pp. 54–55); Reinhold Röhricht, *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani (MXCVII–MCCXCI)*, 2 vols (Berlin: Oeniponti, 1893–1904), I, no. 681,

How credible are these reports? Clearly, incidents like the poisoned wine are pure sensationalism. Other details seem to be based on an either unwitting or deliberate misunderstanding of Byzantine relations with the Muslim world. As regards the supposed Byzantine complicity in the fall of Jerusalem, for example, it would appear that Isaac II did indeed appeal to Saladin for help in getting his brother released from captivity but he seems to have had in mind a negotiated settlement rather than a full scale invasion of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem.[35] Isaac did send a fleet to the eastern Mediterranean in 1187, but its goal was not Jerusalem but the island of Cyprus where a usurper was challenging the authority of the emperor in Constantinople.[36] In any case, as the Arabic writer, Ibn Al-Athir, recounts, Saladin went to war with the kingdom of Jerusalem not at the behest of Isaac II, but because of the provocations offered by Reynald of Châtillon.[37]

Other details seem to be a similar mix of a basis of fact along with twisted and sensationalized accretions. The 'idol' sent by Saladin to Constantinople was probably a mimbar or pulpit, destined to be installed in one of the mosques that existed for the use of Muslim visitors to the city. The Arab sources confirm that the emperor promised to ensure that public prayer on Fridays at the mosque in Constantinople was made in the name of the Abbasid caliph, and that a mimbar and other items were sent.[38] Even the Latin sources pick up on this aspect of the agreement in a garbled fashion, two accounts of the Third Crusade mentioning that a mosque had been built in Constantinople, quite unaware that there had, in fact, been mosques there for years.[39]

Similarly, the agreement that Saladin and Isaac are supposed to have made to divide the Holy Land between them is probably a distortion of an undertaking made by Saladin that if he controlled Jerusalem, he would recognize the

p. 182; *Letters of the Crusaders Written from the Holy Land*, ed. by Dana C. Munro, 2nd edn (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1902), pp. 20–21.

[35] Lyons and Jackson, *Saladin*, pp. 250–51.

[36] Choniates, *Historia*, I, 369–70, trans. by Magoulias, p. 204.

[37] Gabrieli, *Arab Historians*, pp. 115–16.

[38] Abu Shama, *Le Livre des deux jardins*, pp. 470–71, 508; Baha al-Din, *The Rare and Excellent History of Saladin*, p. 121; Reinert, 'Muslim Presence', pp. 140–42.

[39] Magnus of Reichersberg, *Annales*, p. 512; Roger of Wendover, *Liber qui dicitur Flores Historiarum*, I, 153; *Itinerarium peregrinorum et gesta regis Ricardi*, in *Chronicles and Memorials of the Reign of Richard I*, ed. by William Stubbs, Rolls Series, 38, 2 vols (London: Longman, 1864–65), I, 46; English translation by Helen J. Nicholson, *Chronicle of the Third Crusade: A Translation of the 'Itinerarium peregrinorum et gesta regis Ricardi'* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997), p. 58; Ansbert, *Historia de expeditione*, p. 39.

Byzantine emperor as Protector of the Holy Places and of the Christians living there. Support for this argument can be found in the works of Abu Shama in Arabic and Bar Hebraeus in Syriac, who both confirm that, after 1187, the administration of the church of the Holy Sepulchre was handed over to the emperor's nominee, the Greek patriarch. This was, after all, a concession that the Byzantine emperors had sought from the previous rulers of the city, the Latin kings of Jerusalem, and before that from its Muslim overlords.[40]

Even the attempt to block the progress of Barbarossa's crusade, which appears at first sight to be a genuine example of Byzantine-Ayyubid cooperation, is in fact not so. It is much more likely to have been something that Isaac decided to do for reasons entirely unconnected with Saladin, fearing that the Germans posed a threat to his empire, just as his predecessors had done with earlier crusades.[41] When the attempt to weaken Frederick's army failed miserably, Isaac nevertheless wrote to Saladin and assured him that the crusade army had been so mauled that it would 'be of no benefit to their kindred and no harm to your excellency'.[42] This was typical Byzantine diplomatic practice, cleverly trying to turn a reverse to the empire's advantage.

The sensational stories which were circulating in the west therefore were a gross exaggeration, though by no means entirely without foundation. What is much more important, however, is that they were widely believed. Moreover, they led a body of opinion in the West to think that military action against the Byzantine empire was therefore justifiable. Already in the past, tales of Byzantine collusion had been used in this way. In 1106 Bohemond of Taranto had hauled some captured Byzantine Pecheneg mercenaries to Rome to show the pope the type of barbarians the Byzantines were inciting against Christians and so justify his forthcoming invasion of the Byzantine Balkans.[43] In October 1147, Bishop Godfrey of Langres had told the French contingent of the Second Crusade that they would be justified in attacking Constantinople partly because the emperor had recently concluded a peace treaty with the Seljuk Turks.[44] By the 1190s, such

[40] Roger of Wendover, *Liber qui dicitur Flores Historiarum*, I, 153; Bar Hebraeus, *Chronography*, I, 327; Abu Shama, *Le Livre des deux jardins*, p. 509; Lilie, *Byzantium and the Crusader States*, pp. 232–39; Harris, *Byzantium and the Crusades*, pp. 120–24.

[41] Lilie, *Byzantium and the Crusader States*, pp. 230–39; Stephenson, *Byzantium's Balkan Frontier*, pp. 299–300; Harris, *Byzantium and the Crusades*, pp. 132–36.

[42] Baha al-Din, *The Rare and Excellent History of Saladin*, pp. 121–22; Abu Shama, *Le Livre des deux jardins*, pp. 470–71.

[43] Anna Komnene, *Alexias*, I, 379; trans. by Sewter and Frankopan, p. 352.

[44] Odo of Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici VII*, pp. 54–57, 68–71.

calls for action were much more compelling, not because of the tales spun by the chroniclers but for quite a different reason.

In the years following the fall of Jerusalem, it must have become clear to those who planned and led crusades just how difficult it would be to retake the city and, once it was taken, to hold it. The main difficulty was that of financing the enterprise. The famous story that the king of England, Richard the Lionheart (1189–99), would have sold London to pay for his crusade, if he could have found a buyer, may be apocryphal but it highlights the sheer difficulty faced by the primitive economies of western Europe in providing the money to equip and transport large armies to a field of action far from home. Taxes, like the 'Saladin tithe' levied in England and France in 1188, were unpopular and sometimes impossible to collect. Most crusaders simply paid their own way, but that often meant that they ran short of funds and experienced considerable privation and hardship during the campaign.[45] No wonder that in his letters, sent back to the west from the Holy Land in 1191–92, Richard I complained that many of his vassals would not be able to stay on the campaign, unless further supplies of money were sent.[46]

It would appear that in searching for a solution to this problem, certain crusade leaders turned their attention to the one Christian society that boasted a money economy and whose ruler enjoyed the revenue of taxes regularly collected and payable in gold. The conclusion was that the Byzantines should be forced to disgorge some of this wealth to assist the crusading effort and thus make up for their earlier treachery. After all, as Pope Innocent III told the Byzantine emperor, thanks to his wealth, as well as to the geographical position of his empire, he was better placed than any Christian ruler to assist an expedition to retake Jerusalem.[47] There were two crusade leaders, Richard the Lionheart and Count

[45] *Gesta Francorum*, ed. by Hill, pp. 62–63; Odo of Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici VII*, pp. 96–99.

[46] Richard of Devizes, *The Chronicle of the Time of Richard the First*, ed. by John T. Appleby (London: Nelson, 1963), p. 9; Cesare Imperiale di Sant'Angelo, *Codice diplomatico della reppubblica di Genova*, Fonti per la Storia d'Italia, 77, 79, and 89, 3 vols (Roma: Senato, 1936–42), III, 20, trans. by Peter W. Edbury, *The Conquest of Jerusalem and the Third Crusade: Sources in Translation* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998), p. 181; Fred A. Cazel, 'Financing the Crusades', in *A History of the Crusades*, ed. by Kenneth M. Setton, 6 vols (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969–89), VI: *The Impact of the Crusades on Europe, ed. by* Norman P. Zacour and Harry W. Hazard, pp. 116–49; Christopher Tyerman, *England and the Crusades, 1095–1588* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1988), pp. 75–81.

[47] *Die Register Innocenz' III*, ed. by Othmar Hageneder and others, 10 vols (Wien: Böhlau for the Osterreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1964–2007), I, 526–28: 'cum tam ex

Baldwin of Flanders, later Latin emperor of Constantinople, who used similarly reasoning, albeit with two significant differences from the line taken by the pope. In the first place, they considered that military action was justifiable to extract the wealth needed to finance their crusades and secondly they partially justified that position by alluding to Byzantine collusion with the Muslims.

Richard's extortion of money from Byzantium took the form of the invasion and occupation of the Byzantine island of Cyprus in 1191. The ostensible reason for Richard's action was outlined in a letter in which he described how Isaac Komnenos, the ruler of the island, had imprisoned and maltreated the crews of some of his ships which had been wrecked on its coast while Richard was sailing towards the Holy Land.[48] It is clear, however, that there was much more to the episode than that. Contemporary accounts from Richard's camp add another justification, commenting that Cyprus was a wealthy island, 'stuffed with much treasure and various riches'. Lest their master Richard be accused of wanting to take the place out of greed, however, they were at pains to point out that the captured wealth was of immense value to the crusade. According to one account, the anonymous *Itinerarium peregrinorum*, Richard plundered from the island 'everything that was necessary for his expedition as if it had been collected for him'. Moreover, when he moved on to the Holy Land, he left behind men whose job was to gather up food supplies and send them on to the army at Acre.[49]

Attacking Byzantine territory was therefore partly justified because it provided financial or strategic advantages for the crusaders. Such a materialistic pretext, however, might not provide all the justification that was needed. When the prince of Antioch, Reynald of Châtillon, had raided Cyprus in 1156 and made

vicinitate locorum quam habundantia divitiarum tuarum et potentia, qua inimicos crucis munere divino precellis, id potueris commodius et expeditius aliis principibus adimplere' (p. 526).

[48] *Chronicles and Memorials of the Reign of Richard I*, ed, by Stubbs, II, 347 (trans. by Edbury, *Conquest of Jerusalem*, pp. 178–79).

[49] *Itinerarium peregrinorum*, I, 204 (trans. by Nicholson, p. 195); Ambroise, *The History of the Holy War: Ambroise's 'Estoire de la guerre sainte'*, trans. by Marianne Ailes and Malcolm Barber, 2 vols (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2003), II, 61; Richard of Devizes, *The Chronicle*, p. 38. On the role of Cyprus as a supply base for the Holy Land, see Alan Forey, 'Cyprus as a Base for Crusading Expeditions from the West', in *Cyprus and the Crusades*, ed. by Nicolas Coureas and Jonathan Riley-Smith (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 1995), pp. 69–79 (p. 75); Nicolas Coureas, 'To What Extent was the Crusaders' Capture of Cyprus Impelled by Strategic Considerations', *Epetêris*, 19 (1992), 197–202 (p. 201); Peter W. Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades, 1191–1374* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 74–100; James A. Brundage, 'Richard the Lion-Heart and Byzantium', *Studies in Medieval Culture*, 6–7 (1970), 63–70 (p. 66).

a similarly rich haul, he had been roundly condemned for attacking Christians by the Latin chronicler, William of Tyre. For William, there was no justification for an attack on a Christian island, for 'booty wickedly acquired brings no good results'.[50] It was convenient, therefore, that there was another excuse. Isaac Komnenos, according to the *Itinerarium peregrinorum*:

> was the most wicked of all bad men. He surpassed Judas in faithlessness and Ganelon in treachery. He pursued all who professed the Christian religion with shameless determination. He was said to be friendly with Saladin, and that they had drunk each others' blood as a sign and witness that they were allies, as if by external mingling of their blood they really became related by blood. Later on there were clear indications that they had in fact done this. The tyrant's confidence was increased by this alliance and he cast off all the obedience he owed, falsely usurping the title of emperor.[51]

While some secondary works have taken these reports at face value,[52] there is no evidence from sources not written by supporters of Richard to substantiate this allegation and it is difficult to envisage how Saladin and Isaac Komnenos could ever have met to perform their grisly initiation rite. Nevertheless, the story seems to have been widely believed in Richard's camp and so provided a justification for an attack on Christian territory.

Baldwin of Flanders had been involved in a similar enterprise. He was one of the leaders of the army of the Fourth Crusade which in the summer of 1203 had diverted to Constantinople in order to assist the Byzantine prince, Alexios Angelos, to restore his father Isaac II to the throne. In return, Alexios had promised to supply the money and troops that would be needed when the fleet sailed on to its main objective of conquering Egypt and then Jerusalem.

[50] William, archbishop of Tyre, *Chronicon*, bk XVIII, chap. 10, p. 825 (trans. by Babcock and Krey, II, 254).

[51] *Itinerarium peregrinorum*, p. 183 (trans. by Nicholson, p. 179): 'Saladhino dicebatur familiaris, et mutuum singuli hausisse cruorem, in signum et testimonium invicem initae confoederationis, tanquam ex commixtione sanguinis exterius revera fierent consanguinei. Hoc quoque postmodum eos fecisse certis constabat indiciis. Cuius erectus tyrannus ille confidentia, omnium aspernatus debita, etiam subjectionem, falso quoque nomen usurpaverat Imperatoris'. See also Ambroise, *The History of the Holy War*, II, 50–51; William of Newburgh, *Historia rerum Anglicarum*, in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I*, ed. by Howlett, I, 350.

[52] George Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, 4 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1949–52), I, 317; John Gillingham, *Richard I* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), p. 146. For a more sceptical approach, see, W. H. Rudt de Collenberg, 'L'Empereur Isaac de Chypre et sa fille (1155–1207)', *Byzantion*, 38 (1968), 123–77 (p. 142).

By February 1204, however, it was quite clear that the promised help was not forthcoming. A new, uncooperative emperor, Alexios V Mourtzouphlos was on the throne and Alexios Angelos was dead. As Gunther of Pairis noted:

> Had he, at least, lived, he might have been able to [...] give substantial comfort to our people, and send them out of his kingdom safe and well provisioned for the completion of their pilgrimage journey. Deep down inside they knew that they had now been cheated of all these things.[53]

Consequently, in April 1204, the crusaders took Constantinople by storm and looted the city, taking by force the wealth that they had seen slipping through their fingers. Shortly afterwards, Baldwin of Flanders wrote to the pope to justify the action and as in the case of Cyprus he had to think of something better than just the need for supplies. Among his excuses, therefore, was the familiar one, couched in extraordinarily similar language to that used by the supporters of Richard the Lionheart:

> For it is this city [Constantinople], which in the most unclean rite of the heathens — sucking blood by turn as a sign of fraternal union — very often dared to secure deadly friendships with the infidels, and its quite fruitful breast long fed those same infidels, and it deviated into worldly arrogance by providing arms, ships, and foodstuffs.[54]

For all their cleverness, therefore, the rulers of Byzantium helped to bring about the very outcome that their policy of playing off crusaders against Muslim powers and vice versa was designed to avert the capture of Constantinople by a foreign power. They had only succeeded in giving their enemies the justification that they needed to seize Byzantine territory and ultimately the capital itself.

[53] Gunther of Pairis, *Hystoria Constantinopolitana*, ed. by Peter Orth (Hildesheim: Weidmann, 1994), p. 145; Gunther of Pairis, *The Capture of Constantinople: The 'Hystoria Constantinopolitana' of Gunther of Pairis*, trans. by Alfred J. Andrea (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997), p. 97.

[54] *Die Register Innocenz' III*, VII (1997), 253–62 (pp. 259–60): 'Hec enim, que spurcissimo gentilium ritu, pro fraterna societate sanguinibus alternis ebibitis. Cum infidelibus ausa est sepius amicitias firmare ferales et eosdem mamilla diu lactavit huberima et extulit in superbiam seculorum arma, naves et victualia ministrando'; trans. by Alfred J. Andrea, in *Contemporary Sources for the Fourth Crusade*, ed. by Alfred J. Andrea (Leiden: Brill, 2000), pp. 100–12 (p. 108); *The Deeds of Pope Innocent III*, trans. by James M. Powell (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2004), p. 161. For a further discussion of this point, see Jonathan Harris, 'The Problem of Supply and the Sack of Constantinople', in *The Fourth Crusade Revisited*, ed. by Pierantonio Piatti (Vatican City: Vaticana, 2008), pp. 145–54.

More ironic still is the fact that the Byzantines were aware of how their tactics could lead to accusations of collusion. As early as 1106, Alexios I Komnenos and his advisors had been aware that Bohemond of Taranto was touring Europe calling the emperor 'a pagan and an enemy of the Christians'.[55] The historian Niketas Choniates, rewriting his history in the aftermath of the events of 1204 recorded that Manuel I had incited the Turks of Asia Minor to attack the armies of the Second Crusade, as part of a policy of deterring western Europeans from attacking Constantinople. He understood, however, of how such actions might appear to westerners. In 1189, he was one of a group of courtiers who had warned Isaac II that his attempts to block the passage of Frederick Barbarossa's army through the Balkans was giving rise to rumours that the Byzantine emperor was in league with Saladin, and that the two rulers had drunk each other's blood to seal the alliance. Isaac himself, in his letter to Saladin of 1189, lamented that by keeping on good terms with the sultan he had 'no profit [...] other than the enmity of the Franks and their kin'.[56] By that time, however, it was probably too late.

This article set out to show that the two approaches found in secondary literature to the charge of Byzantine collusion with the infidel are unconvincing. To portray the Byzantines as innocent victims of a smear campaign is rather naïve, given the devious diplomatic game that they were playing. To accept the western construction of Byzantine dealings with Muslim powers, on the other hand, is to misunderstand the whole nature of Byzantine society and ideology as well as the events which led up to the sack of Constantinople. What seems to have happened is that, in the highly charged atmosphere of the era of the crusades, Byzantine actions that were aimed at protecting Constantinople were inevitably seen as collusion with Muslims against Christian crusaders. It was a charge so grave that it was bound to place one's Christian adversaries in a bad light and to justify violence against them. So effective was it that it was to be used again. In 1213, for example, against Raymond VI, count of Toulouse, was said to have sent emissaries to the ruler of Morocco to beg his help against the Albigensian crusade.[57] The problem of Byzantine collusion with the infidel is therefore a much

[55] Anna Komnene, *Alexias*, I, 359–60; trans. by Sewter and Frankopan, p. 332.

[56] Choniates, *Historia*, I, 66–67, 409–10 (trans. by Magoulias, pp. 39, 225); Baha al-Din, *The Rare and Excellent History of Saladin*, p. 122; Dimiter G. Angelov, 'Domestic Opposition to Byzantium's Alliance with Saladin: Niketas Choniates and his Epiphany Oration of 1190', *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies*, 30 (2006), 49–68 (pp. 59–62).

[57] PL, 216, col. 838; Peter of Les Vaux-de-Cernay, *The History of the Albigensian Crusade*, trans. by W. A. Sibly and M. D. Sibly (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1998), p. 183; *Chronica regia Coloniensis*, ed. by Georg Waitz, MGH, Scriptores rerum Germanicarum, 18 (Hannover: Hahn,

more complicated one than has been recognized. It involves an understanding of Byzantine foreign policy and ideology, of the strategic problems facing the crusades in the late twelfth century and the moral climate of the period.

1880), pp. 231–32; Caesarius of Heisterbach, *Dialogus miraculorum*, ed. by Joseph Strange (Köln: Lempertz, 1851), pp. 302–03; Michel Roquebert, *Epopée cathare*, 4 vols (Toulouse: Privat, 1970–89), II (1981), 122–23. I am indebted to Marco Meschini for this parallel which is also discussed in his 'Innocenzo III e il "negotium pacis et fidei" in Linguadoc (1198–1215)' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Milano, 2003).

Greeks and Latins at the Time of the Fourth Crusade: Patriarch John X Kamateros and a Troubadour *Tenso*

Linda Paterson

This article seeks to examine relations between Greeks and Latins at the time of the Fourth Crusade through a reference to Patriarch John X Kamateros of Constantinople (1198–1206) in an Occitan dialogue poem or *tenso* by the troubadour Elias Cairel.[1] The speakers in the *tenso*, both Latins, are Elias Cairel himself and a woman named Isabella, who states that she will appeal to the Greek Patriarch to punish Elias. The question which I seek to resolve here is whether or not this reference to the Patriarch is benign, indicating positive relations between Greeks and Latins, or hostile. In order to do this it will be necessary to consider the historical context of the *tenso*, its date and the circumstances of its production.

[1] This essay stems from a project, supported by a major grant from the UK's Arts and Humanities Research Council's Resource Enhancement Scheme, to produce a critical edition of the complete corpus of Occitan *tensos*. The text is that of my edition: Linda Paterson, 'Five *trobairitz tensos* and *partimens*: A new critical edition', *Rivista di Studi Testuali*, 5–6 (2004–05), 191–245 (pp. 205–13); see also now *The Troubadour 'tensos' and 'partimens': A Critical Edition*, ed. by Ruth Harvey and Linda Paterson, 3 vols (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2010), II, 841–49. The first critical edition of the text was Elias Cairel, *Der Trobador Elias Cairel*, ed. by Hilde Jaeschke, Romanische Studien, 20 (Berlin: Ebering, 1921; repr. Liechtenstein: Kraus, 1967), poem VII; followed notably by Angelica Rieger, *Trobairitz: Der Beitrag der Frau in der altokzitanischen höfischen Lyrik: Edition des Gesamtkorpus* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1991), pp. 275–91. Elias's corpus has been recently re-edited by Giosuè Lachin: Elias Cairel, *Il trovatore Elias Cairel*, ed. by Giosuè Lachin (Modena: Mucchi, 2004). For the identity of the patriarch named in this *tenso*, see *Cairel*, ed. by Jaeschke, pp. 16–17.

Languages of Love and Hate: Conflict, Communication, and Identity in the Medieval Mediterranean, ed. by Sarah Lambert and Helen Nicholson, International Medieval Research, 15 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), 119–139 BREPOLS PUBLISHERS 10.1484/M.IMR-EB.1.101133

Isabella initiates the bantering dialogue of the *tenso* with the words 'N'Elyas Cairel', asking why Elias has directed his amorous attentions elsewhere and no longer celebrates her in his songs. Elias replies that his interest in Isabella was never a matter of the heart, but rather that he produced songs for the sake of his reputation and financial reward, and that in any case she has been unreliable in her affections. Isabella ripostes that it is unheard-of for a lover of his ardour to abandon a lady for the sake of money, and that she for her part has lost interest in *him*. The troubadour declares he would be mad to stay in her power a moment longer, but in any case he has a much more beautiful, loyal, and reputable lady than Isabella. Isabella in return accuses him of feigning grief, presumably at her alleged disloyalty, over something 'for which he feels no pain' and advises him to 'go back to living in the abbey', announcing that she intends to 'petition the Patriarch John about it'. Elias denies having ever lived in a monastery, but then claims he has been lying about his feelings, for in fact he has truly suffered for love of her great beauty. The song ends with a teasing exchange in which Isabella tempts him to reveal the name of his new lady and he, as a correct courtly lover, insists on discretion.

I [Isabella]
N'Elyas Cairel, del amor
q'ieu e vos soliam aver
voil, si·us platz, qe·m digatz lo ver:
per qe l'avetz cambjat aillor,
qe vostre chanz non vai si com solia?
Et anc vas vos no·m *f*ui salvat*j*'un dia
ni vos d'amor no·m demandetz anc tan
q'ieu no fezes tot al vostre coman.

II [Elias]
Ma domn'Ysabella, valor,
joi e pretz e sen e saber
soliatz qec jorn mantener;
e s'ieu en dizia lauzor
e mon chantar, no·l di*s* per drudaria
mas per honor e pron q'ieu n'atendia,
si con joglars fai de dompna prezan;
mas chascun jorn m'es anada cambjan.

III [Isabella]
N'Elyas Cairel, amador
no vim mais de vostre voler
qi cambges dompna per aver;
e s'ieu en disses desonor,

eu n'ai dig tant de be q'om no·l creiria.
Mas ben podetz doblar vostra folia,
de mi vos dic q'ades vau meilluran,
mas endreig vos non ai cor ni talan.

IV [Elias]
Domn', eu faria gran follor
s'istes gair'en vostre poder,
e ges per tal no·m desesper
s'anc tot no·n aic pron ni honor:
vos remanres tals com la genz vos cria
et ieu irei vezer ma bell'amia
e·l sieu gen cor[s] graile e ben-istan,
que no m'a cor menzongier ni truan.

V [Isabella]
N'Elias Cairel, fegnedor
resemblatz, segon mon parer,
con hom qi·s feing de dol aver
de zo dont el no sent dolor.
Si·m creziatz, bon conseil vos daria,
qe tornassesz estar en l'abadia;
e no·us auzei anc mais dir mon semblan,
mas pregar n'ei lo patriarch[a] *Ju*an.

VI [Elias]
Domn'Ysabel', en refreitor
non estei anc mattin ni ser,
mas vos n'auretz oi mais lezer,
q'em breu temps perdretz la collor.
Estier mon grat mi faitz dir vilania,
et ai mentit, q'eu non crei q'el mond sia
domna tant pros ni ab beutat tan gran
com vos avet[z] — per q'ieu i hai agut dan.

VII [Isabella]
Si·us plazia, N'Elyas, ieu volria
qe·m disesses qals es la vostr'amia;
e digatz lo·m, e no·i anetz doptan,
q'e·us en valrai, s'ela val ·*vi .., ses tan*.

VIII [Elias]
Dompna, vos m'enqerretz de grant follia,
qe per razon s'amistat en perdria
e per paor qe lauzengier mi fan;
per o non aus descubrir mon talan.

(I [Isabella] Sir Elias Cairel, I desire you, if you please, to tell me the truth about the love which you and I used to have: why have you transferred your attentions to another, for your song is no longer what it once was? And yet I for my part was never for a moment hostile towards you, nor did you ever ask anything of my love that I did not do entirely according to your bidding.

II [Elias] My lady Isabella, you used always to uphold truth worth, joy, and good reputation, wisdom, and understanding; but if I sang your praises in my verse, it was not for love that I did so but for the reputation and profit I expected from you, as a jongleur does from a lady of high renown; but every day you have kept being fickle towards me.

III [Isabella] Sir Elias Cairel, none of us has ever known a lover of your ardour to abandon his lady for the sake of money. And yet if I were to speak disparagingly of you I have spoken so well of you in the past that I would not be believed. But now you can become twice the fool you are: I can assure you that *I* for my part grow wiser every day now that I have neither inclination nor desire for you.

IV [Elias] Lady, I should commit a great folly if I remained another moment in your power, but nevertheless I do not despair even though I never had profit nor honour from you; you will remain as people proclaim you to be, and I shall go to see my fair beloved and gaze on her slender and comely person, for she has in her heart no deceit or disloyalty towards me.

V [Isabella] Sir Elias Cairel, to my mind you act like a deceiver, like one who feigns grief at that for which he feels no pain. If you would heed my words I would give you a piece of good advice: you should go back to living in the abbey. I never yet dared to tell you what I thought, but I intend now to petition the Patriarch John about it.

VI [Elias] Lady Isabella, I never dwelt in any monastery, early or late, but you will shortly have occasion to do so, for you will soon lose your looks. It is against my will that you make me utter such churlish words, and I have been untruthful, for I do not believe there is any lady in the world so worthy or possessing such great beauty as you — and for that I have suffered greatly.

VII [Isabella] If you consented, Sir Elias, I would like you to tell me what manner of woman your beloved is. Tell me now, have no fear, for if she is worth a six [at dice], I will be worth six times more to you.

VIII [Elias] Lady, you ask me to commit a great foolishness, for I should rightly lose her love if I told you, and for fear of gossiping tongues; therefore I dare not reveal my heart's desire.)

Isabella has recently been convincingly identified by Giosuè Lachin with a married woman who was the lover of the Lombard lord Ravano delle Carceri, whom she later married, in 1212, after the death of her husband (who remains unknown).

Despite their adultery, a dispensation from Pope Innocent III permitted their union, on the proviso that they had not connived at her husband's death.[2] Ravano appears to have initially gone on the Fourth Crusade in the company of the Venetians, for he represented the Doge Henry Dandolo at Boniface of Montferrat's concession of Crete at Adrianopolis on 12 August 1204. However, by August 1205 he had passed into the service of Boniface, who granted him the lordship of Negroponte (see the list of key dates at the end of this article).[3] After Ravano's death in 1216 Isabella and her daughter Berta inherited a third of the island of Euboea; Berta married Geoffroy of Villehardouin, nephew of the historian of that name and prince of Achaea, whose independent principality survived until 1277 when it passed to the control of Charles of Anjou, king of Sicily.[4]

Apart from this *tenso*, three of Elias Cairel's fourteen surviving songs refer to Isabella by name. One *canso* or love-song, *Estat ai dos ans*, is sent to the French poet-musician and crusading commander and diplomat Conon de Béthune. Elias declares that if Conon likes the song, which he says will be a *drogoman* (intermediary, messenger, interpreter) to the poet-musician, Lady Isabella should be thanked for it. The *tornada* (final short section) suggests that Elias does not regard Isabella as his beloved, and the idea presented in the *tenso* that she ever was, is probably an entertaining pretence.[5]

[2] I am deeply grateful to Professor Lachin for sending me a draft of his edition of Elias Cairel prior to publication, which provided a key impetus to my argument. He signals the correspondence of Pope Innocent III, *Opera omnia*, in PL, 214–17 (216, col. 613, n. ci), and notes that Archbishop Berardo of Thebes sought the excommunication of Ravano on the grounds of his relations with Isabella, though Innocent forbade this (see PL, 216, col. 612, n. c).

[3] See Henri de Valenciennes, *Histoire de l'empereur Henri de Constantinople*, ed. by Jean Longnon, Documents relatifs à l'histoire des croisades, 2 (Paris: Geuthner, 1948), p. 79, n. 2.

[4] See Raymond J. Loenerz, 'Les Seigneurs terciers de Negrepont de 1205 à 1280', *Byzantion*, 35 (1965), 235–76 (pp. 243–44). For Geoffroy of Villehardouin I, prince of Achaea, and his son Geoffrey II, see *A History of the Crusades*, ed. by Kenneth M. Setton, 6 vols (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1958–89), II: *The Later Crusades, 1189–1311*, ed. by R. L. Wolff and H. W. Hazard (1969), Index.

[5] *Cairel*, ed. by Lachin, poem II (*Estat ai dos ans*), ll. 45–60: 'Chansso, drogomans | seras mon seignor Coino, | e no m'ocaiso | car ieu no l'ai vist enans, | que la gens de sai | dizen qu'el val mai | qe negus; pero be·m par, | si parlar negueis me volgues, | per q'ieu·l veirai ans de dos mes, | e si ma chanssoneta·il platz, | ma domna Yzabel sia·l gratz. // Nuills hom non pot be chantar | sens amar, pero s'ieu agues | gaia dompna, tal qe·m plagues, | jes non sui tant desesperatz | q'ieu non ames, si fos amatz' (Song, you will be my messenger/interpreter for my Lord Conon, and let him not reproach me for not having seen him earlier, for the people here say he is worth more than any; yet if he were willing just to speak to me, I am content because I shall see him before two months are up; and if he likes my little song, may my lady Isabel be thanked for it. No man can

Two further songs referring to Isabella[6] concern the so-called 'Lombard plot', for which the main source is Henri de Valenciennes' *Histoire de l'empereur Henri de Constantinople*. After the death of Boniface of Montferrat on 4 September 1207, various Italian lords, including Ravano delle Carceri, refused to accept his two-year-old son Demetrius as his heir in Greece. The boy was Boniface's son by his wife Margaret (Maria) of Hungary, former wife of the Greek Emperor Isaac II Angelus, and had formed a part of Boniface's policy of legitimizing and strengthening his rule in Thessalonika. In his stead the Lombards sought to establish Marquis William IV of Montferrat, son of Boniface by a previous marriage, and openly rebelled against the authority of Emperor Henry of Constantinople. William himself was reluctant to leave Italy for Greece to take up the challenge, and in one of these songs Elias tries to goad him into it, naming various Lombard lords, including Ravano, whom he reports as accusing William of conduct more fitting to a bastard than a legitimate heir, and praising Isabella as the inspirer of knights to perform brave deeds.[7] In the other, which he presents

sing well without love, yet if I had a merry lady to my liking, I am not in so much despair that I would not love, if I were loved).

[6] *Cairel*, ed. by Lachin, poems IV, *Pois chai la fuoilla*, and III, *Mout mi platz lo doutz temps d'abril*.

[7] *Cairel*, ed. by Lachin, poem IV, ll. 33–52: 'Lo regesme de Salonic | ses peirier'e ses manganel | pogratz aver, e maint chastel | d'autres q'ieu no mentau ni dic. | Per Dieu, marques, Rotlandis e sos fraire | e Guis marques e Ravans lor confraire, | Flamenc Frances Bergonhon e Lombart | van tuit dizen que vos semblatz bastart! // Lo jorn no pot aver destric | selh que ve ma dona Yzabel: | si com la maragd'en l'anel | — que dona gaug al plus enic — | es atressi de totas la belaire, | e que mielhs sap bels plazers dir e faire; | man cavalier que serian coart | son per lieis pros e valen e galhart. // Vostr'ancessor, so aug dir e retraire, | foron tuich pro, mas vos no·n soven gaire: | si del venir no prendetz geing et art, | de vostr'onor perdretz lo tertz e·l quart' (Without need of petrary and mangonel you could have the kingdom of Thessalonika and many castles of others that I do not mention or name. For God's sake, Marquis: Roland and his brother and Marquis Guy and Ravano their associates, Flemish, French, Burgundians, and Lombards all go around saying you seem to be a bastard! On the day he sees my lady Isabel a man cannot suffer distress: just as the emerald in the ring brings joy to the most downcast, so is she the loveliest of all and the one who best knows how to say and do fine pleasing things: many knights who would otherwise be cowards are brave and valiant and vigorous because of her. Your ancestors, as I hear it said repeatedly, were all brave men, but you hardly remember them; if you do not find a means or device to come, you will lose a great part ['the third and the quarter'] of your lands). I have slightly modified the punctuation and sense of ll. 35–38. For the authenticity of stanza VI (ll. 41–48), in manuscript *R* only, see Cairel, ed. by Lachin, p. 181; Jaeschke suggested very plausibly that the version of the song that was sent to William did not contain it, but that it was present in the version circulated in Greece.

to 'Donn'Yzabel' who is 'worth more than all the rest of them', he reminds the Marquis of Montferrat that 'a dormouse never found its way into the mouth or teeth of a sleeping fox'.[8] Yet another, exhorting the Emperor Frederick II to go to the Holy Land via Greece, continues to reproach William for his lack of interest in his Greek inheritance, and another is sent, probably from Italy, to a lady 'en terra grega'.[9]

Given that Boniface of Montferrat was a notable patron of the troubadour Raimbaut de Vaqueiras, and that Elias and Raimbaut were in western Greece at the same time and seem to have both had contacts with Conon de Béthune, Elias might be expected to have also enjoyed the Marquis's patronage.[10] However, nowhere does Elias refer to either Boniface or Raimbaut. The available evidence suggests that he was in the service of Isabella, and that Isabella was a political player who supported the Lombard cause with determination and used Elias as an instrument of propaganda, both in Greece and, later, back in Italy.

So what is the meaning of Isabella's reference to Patriarch John? All scholars hitherto have assumed that as far as John is concerned, it is benign. This was my initial view. I took it as evidence that the *tenso* was to be performed in a cosmopolitan court setting, in the presence of the head of the Greek Orthodox Church in Constantinople. Since just prior to this reference Isabella has cast aspersions on Elias's sexual inclinations — which recent scholars have taken to mean his impotence — the Patriarch's inclusion might perhaps have been considered slightly risqué, but it would contribute to a piece of entertainment that was, precisely, inclusive, even potentially serving to defuse inter-cultural tensions. Now I am not so sure. To be able to see the situation more clearly we need first of all to clarify the possible dates and circumstances of the *tenso*'s production, at a time of considerable flux and upheaval.

Jaeschke argued in 1921 that the *tenso* was composed in the summer of 1204, when Boniface had quarrelled with Baldwin, the recently crowned Latin emperor of Greece, over the lordship of Thessalonika.[11] After the second conquest of Constantinople in April, Baldwin marched out to the western regions, installing

[8] 'Chanssoneta, vai t'en tost e viatz | dreit al marques de cui es Monferratz, | e digas li c'anc a volpill dormen | non intret glirs en boca ni en den. | Don'Yzabel, ma chansson vos presen, | car valetz mais de tot lo remanen' (*Cairel*, ed. by Lachin, poem III, ll. 46–51).

[9] *Cairel*, ed. by Lachin, poem VI, ll. 49–52 (compare poem X). For the dating of these songs, see Lachin in his preambles to the texts.

[10] For contact between Raimbaut and Conon, see *The Poems of the Troubadour Raimbaut de Vaqueiras*, ed. by Joseph Linskill (Den Haag: Mouton, 1964), poems XX and XXI.

[11] *Cairel*, ed. by Jaeschke, pp. 17–19.

garrisons at Orestias, Didymoteichon, and Philippopolis. Boniface followed, bringing his new wife Margaret, recent widow of Isaac Angelus. Capturing and fortifying Didymoteichon, he proclaimed his firstborn son by Margaret emperor of the Greeks and succeeded in winning over scores of Greeks to his cause. Meanwhile, what had happened to the Greek Patriarch? The three (Greek) sources give somewhat varying accounts. According to Nicetas Choniates, who was with him at the time, after the brutal and chaotic collapse of Constantinople on 13 April, John fled to Thrace with barely a rag to his back. They rested at Selymbria, where Nicetas recounts how 'we' were taunted by 'rustics and baseborn'. He also reports that on 26 June 1206 John 'died a gentle death, ending his days as a vagabond and an exile in Didymoteichon'.[12] Georgius Acropolita simply states that John went to Didymoteichon and died there. Nicephorus Callistus, however, relates that he made his way to Adrianopolis where he died of thirst during the Latin siege of the city.[13] Jaeschke takes it that Nicephorus was wrong, but it is possible that since he was a 'vagabond' John did go to Adrianopolis at some point. She thinks that John must have been in Didymoteichon during the summer of 1204 during the period of Boniface's Greek policy, when, according to Geoffroy of Villehardouin, 'the Greeks came in from all the country round, within a day or two's journey'. When Baldwin sent envoys to negotiate with Boniface, they found him and his wife there with 'a great number of people of good standing'.[14] Jaeschke suggests that John is likely to have been chaplain to Margaret, who had converted to Greek Orthodoxy on her marriage to Isaac, and had not yet re-converted to Catholicism. If she is right about the dating and general circumstances, then the interpretation of Isabella's reference as a friendly one would seem to hold.[15]

However, the evidence for John's presence at Didymoteichon at this time is fragile, and there are other possibilities. Lachin considers that the *tenso* is more likely to date from before John's flight, on the grounds that it makes no men-

[12] Niketas Choniates, *O City of Byzantium: Annals of Niketas Choniates*, trans. by Harry J. Magoulias (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1984), pp. 326 and 347.

[13] Georgius Acropolita, *Annales*, PG, 140 (Paris: Migne, 1865), col. 995; Nicephorus Callistus, *Enarratio de episcopis Byzantii et de patriarchis omnibus C'politanis*, in PG, 147 (Paris: Migne, 1865), col. 463.

[14] Geoffroi de Villehardouin, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, ed. by Edmond Faral, Classiques français du moyen âge, 18–19, 2 vols, 2nd edn (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1961), II, 88 and 104.

[15] *Cairel*, ed. by Jaeschke, p. 18. Rieger (p. 287) accepts Jaeschke's view about the dating and general circumstances, apparently taking it as definite that John met Boniface and Margaret.

tion of recent turbulent events, and that it is hard to see how, after the fall of Constantinople, a western woman could invite Elias to go back to an Orthodox convent; the *tenso* could only, he believes, belong to a less conflictual period of the two churches. My own view is that it is quite possible for courtly entertainment to fail to reflect turbulent circumstances, and even for a joke to be made about Elias going to the 'wrong sort' of monastery. However, I do agree that earlier scenarios could apply. One is the period of July to November 1203 when the Latins had set Isaac and his wife Margaret on the throne, and were encamped outside the city. Villehardouin describes much coming and going, with considerable celebrations and feasting. Isaac was crowned emperor at the beginning of August, to the accompaniment of further celebrations, and he often visited the crusaders in their camp. A little later, his son the young Emperor Alexius left Constantinople to establish peace throughout his empire, in the company of Boniface; on their return on St Martin's Day, long cavalcades of Greek lords and ladies rode out of the city to greet their friends. The emperor returned to his palace of Blachernae while Boniface went back to camp, but he enjoyed particularly good terms with the emperor and often went to visit him.[16] This period would seem to have offered various opportunities for courtly entertainment at which the not-yet-deposed patriarch could well have been present. In this case, a similarly amicable interpretation could apply to Isabella's remark.

Another possibility however is that the *tenso* arose *after* the second fall of Constantinople. Jubilations and festivities, a golden opportunity for troubadours, accompanied the coronation of Baldwin in May 1204.[17] In this case the allusion to John might be much less benign. John had fled into exile, in ignominy. Among the Latins, anti-Greek feeling was running high.[18] Isabella's suggestion in this context could imply that Elias should remove himself as far away as possible into the wilds of the Thracian countryside.[19]

A final possibility is that the *tenso* was composed after Boniface quit Didymoteichon after his reconciliation with Baldwin, making his base in Thessalonika though going off on campaign in the Peloponnese. This seems less likely, as by then John would have become an irrelevance, though again Isabella's suggestion could imply that Elias should remove himself into the wilds.

[16] Villehardouin, *La Conquête*, I, 194–97 and II, 7–8.

[17] Villehardouin, *La Conquête*, II, 68–69.

[18] See Niketas Choniates, *O City of Byzantium*, pp. 326; Villehardouin, *La Conquête*, II, 80.

[19] The verb in line 40 is either a split future (*pregar n'ai*, *O*) or a perfect (*pregat n'ai*, *a1*). Like other editors Jaeschke prefers the split future. But this means, contrary to her assumption, that Isabella did not necessarily have any direct contact with the patriarch.

Is there any way of clarifying more precisely the circumstances of the production of this *tenso*? Before the publication of Lachin's edition, he and I independently noticed its influence on a song by Conon de Béthune, with whom — as I have already noted — Elias was in contact in Greece.[20]

I
L'autrier avint en cel autre païs
C'uns chevaliers eut une dame amee.
Tant com la dame fu en son bon pris,
Li a s'amor escondite et veee.
Puis fu un jors k'ele li dist: 'Amis,
Mené vous ai par parole mains dis;
Ore est l'amors coneüe et provee.
Des or mais sui tot a vostre devis.'

II
Li chevalliers le regarda el vis,
Si la vit mout pale et descoulouree.
'Dame', fait il, 'certes mal sui baillis
Ke n'eüstes piech'a ceste pensee.
Vostres cler vis, ki sambloit flors de lis,
Est si alés, dame, de mal em pis
K'il m'est a vis ke me soiés emblee.
A tart avés, dame, cest consell pris.'

III
Quant la dame s'oï si ramproser,
Grant honte en ot, si dist par sa folie:
'Par Dieu, vassal, jel dis por vos gaber.
Quidiés vos dont k'a chertes le vos die?
Onques nul jor ne me vint em penser.
Sariés vos dont dame de pris amer?
Nenil, par Dieu! ains vos prendroit envie
D'un bel vallet baisier et acoler.'

IV
'Dame', fait il, 'j'ai bien oï parler
De vostre pris, mais ce n'est ore mie;
Et de Troie rai jou oï conter
K'ele fu ja de mout grant signorie;
Or n'i puet on fors les plaices trover.
Et si vous lo ensi a escuser
Ke cil soient reté de l'iresie
Qui des or mais ne vous vauront amer.

[20] *Les Chansons de Conon de Béthune*, ed. by A. Wallensköld, Classiques français du moyen âge, 24 Paris: Champion, 1968), x; also in Brian Woledge, *The Penguin Book of French Verse, 1: To the Fifteenth Century* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1961), pp. 106–08.

V ‘Par Dieu, vassal, mout avés fol pensé,
Quand vous m’avés reprové mon eaige.
Se j’avoie tot mon jovent usé,
Si sui jou riche et de si haut paraige
C’om m’ameroit a petit de beauté.
Encoir n’a pas un mois entir passé
Ke li Marchis m’envoia son messaige,
Et li Barrois a por m’amor josté.’

VI ‘Par Dieu, dame, ce vos a mout grevé
Ke vos fiés tos jors ens signoraige;
Mais tel set ont ja por vos sospiré
Se vos estiés fille au Roi de Cartaige
Ki ma mais jor n’en aront volenté.
On n’aime pas dame por parenté,
Mais quant ele est belle et cortoise et saige.
Vos en savrés par tans la verité.’

(I The other day it happened in that other country that a knight had loved a lady. As long as the lady was at the height of her reputation she refused and denied him her love. Then one day she said to him: ‘My love, I have led you along with words for many a day; now your love is known and tested. Henceforth I am entirely at your disposal.’

II The knight looked her full in the face and saw that she was very pale and faded. ‘Lady’, he said, I am really out of luck that you did not have this idea some year ago. Your lovely face that used to be like the lily has so far gone, lady, from bad to worse, that it seems to me you have been stolen from me. Too late, lady, have you come to this decision.’

III When the lady heard herself so taunted, she was overcome with shame and said in her folly: ‘By God, Sir Knight, I said this to mock you. Did you really think I meant it seriously? Such a thing never entered into my head. Would you be capable of loving a lady of high repute? No, by God! You would be more likely to want to kiss and embrace some handsome youth.’

IV ‘Lady’, he said, I have certainly heard people speak about your worth, but this is no longer the case; and of Troy too I have hear tell that it was once a mighty city; now only the site can be found there. So I advise you to refrain from making accusations of immorality against those who henceforth do not wish to love you.’

V ‘By God, Sir Knight, you were a fool to reproach me for my age. Even if I had quite worn out my youth, I still have such high rank and lineage that I could be loved with very little beauty. Within this last month the Marquis sent me his messenger, and the Barrois has jousted for my love.’

> VI 'By God, Lady, it has gone much against you that you have always put your trust in rank; but a hundred have sighed for you in the past who, even if you were daughter of the king of Carthage, would no longer desire you. A lady is not loved for her lineage, but when she is beautiful and courtly and wise. You will learn the truth of this in time.')

Like the *tenso*, Conon's song presents a dialogue between a lady and her ex-suitor, though it takes place within a third-person narrative framework. As in the *tenso*, a lady who has proved difficult to court in the past approaches her suitor more invitingly. When rebuffed she too casts aspersions on her suitor's sexuality, in this case accusing him of preferring the embraces of a good-looking youth. The men in both poems make derogatory remarks about the faded beauty of the women: Elias to the effect 'q'em breu temps perdretz la collor' (l. 44), Conon similarly that the knight 'Si la vit moult pale et descoulouree' (l. 10). Moreover, in his opening line, 'L'autrier avint en cel autre païs', Conon cleverly intertwines a generic marker with a topical, geographical link to the *tenso*. The first word, 'L'autrier', conjures up the expectation of a *pastourelle*. In one sense this is fulfilled, by the presentation of a dialogue within a narrative frame. In other senses it is doubly subverted, firstly because the encounter takes place between a knight and a lady rather than a knight and a shepherdess, and secondly because it is the woman rather than the man who is rebuffed. What follows is a geographical reference, 'in that other country', which does not belong to a *pastourelle* at all (though it may well hint at a rough country setting). 'That other country' is, I believe, no lyric topos, but rather an allusion to a specific location that is not Constantinople, the base of Conon's service to the Latin emperor, but its ally and also rival empire, Thessalonika.

So what is the meaning of this dialectic with the *tenso* of Elias and Isabella? Is it simply a compliment to Elias, inasmuch as it extrapolates from his song? Or is there more to it than this? One observation immediately springs to mind: it hardly seems like a compliment to its female speaker.

What was the relationship between Elias and Conon at this time? As I have already mentioned, Elias dedicates 'Estat ai dos ans' to the French trouvère.[21] He states that he has not composed a *vers* or *canso* for two years, but now the springtime invites him to do so, 'qu'ieu vei sai e lai | chascun auzel ab son par | domneiar' (ll. 6–8). A conventional enough exordium — though the opposition *sai e lai* is picked up later with an explicit differentiation between the geographical locations of himself and the trouvère (l. 49). The bulk of the song (the next three stanzas) complains that princes and barons have failed to support courtly values as they used to do. In the last complete stanza he tells his *canso* to be a *drogoman*

[21] See n. 5 above.

to Lord Conon (ll. 45–55), who should not blame him for not seeing him sooner, for the people in Elias's region ('la gens de sai') say Conon's worth is higher than anyone else's. The logic of this is not entirely obvious, unless we infer that there has been some strain between Constantinople and Thessalonika and that Elias is reassuring Conon that he himself is highly regarded in western Greece. He then announces he would be happy if Conon would talk to him in person when he expects to see him in under two months' time; and that if Conon likes his *chanssoneta*, the thanks should go to his lady Isabel.

I think we can take it that when Elias says he has not composed a *vers* or *canso* for two years, he is not being perverse and excluding the *tenso*: he surely means he has not composed *any* song. To arrive at a more precise contextualization of this piece, we need to be able to identify a period not only when Elias has not composed songs for two years, and not seen Conon for some time, but also when he knows he is likely to meet Conon within two months.

As I have shown above, the *tenso* 'N'Elyas Cairel' must have been composed at some time between the re-establishment of Isaac as emperor in July–November 1203 and the summer of 1204 when John could have been present at Boniface's court in Didymoteichon, or just possibly after Boniface's withdrawal from that city and the patriarch's death in 1206. To allow for the two-year gap in Elias's poetic activities, 'Estat ai dos ans' must either predate the *tenso*, or else date from at least two years after a date within this period 1203–06. But if it predates the *tenso*, it is difficult to identify an occasion when Elias and Conon were in different places and when Elias could know they would meet in two months' time.

If we suppose that it was composed some two years *after* the *tenso*, it would not in fact be surprising if there were a two-year lull in courtly activities during the chaotic events that broke out in February 1205. The Greeks were rebelling against Latin rule in Didymoteichon and Adrianopolis, and their uprising was followed by the disastrous defeat and capture of Baldwin on 29 March, and his subsequent death, at the hands of Johannitsa, king of the Bulgarians, with his dreaded Kuman fighters, who continued to advance on these two cities. In the meantime Boniface returned from a campaign in the Peleponnese to shut himself up in Thessalonika.[22]

So when might Elias know he is likely to meet Conon within two months? Lachin suggests that the reference to the imminent visit may be linked to a diplomatic mission entrusted by the Lombards to Ravano delle Carceri in 1208–09.[23]

[22] Niketas Choniates, *O City of Byzantium*, p. 340.

[23] *Cairel*, ed. by Lachin, pp. 131–32.

In the winter of 1208 Baldwin's successor Henry was advised to travel to Thessalonika and obtain the fealty of the Lombards on behalf of Boniface's son Demetrius, while the Lombards were plotting to place William IV of Montferrat on the throne of Thessalonika and make it independent of Constantinople. After holding his Christmas court at Vigneri and travelling around western Greece, Henry found his path to Thessalonika blocked. This was in the middle of winter when he and his men were at serious risk of hypothermia. While he stayed at a monastery in Choriatis, fifteen kilometers east of Thessalonika, Henry sent for Conon de Béthune, who was then about sixty years old and a highly experienced and accomplished diplomat, to go to Thessalonika and talk to the Lombards.[24] Conon succeeded in negotiating Henry's entry into the city before 6 January 1209, when Demetrius was crowned king, and was in and out of Thessalonika during the next two months. The Lombards continued to plot, with Conon being involved in peace-making at Ravennika at the beginning of May, though Ravano and others did not turn up to the arranged meeting; Ravano eventually sent word for a truce on about 20 May and the Lombards then yielded all their fiefs and lands to the emperor.[25]

The events of this period do not provide a very convincing match with the scenario of *Estat ai dos ans*. If Elias was shut up with the Lombards in Thessalonika (and it is implausible to think of him being anywhere else), could he have heard of Henry's call for Conon to come from Constantinople? How could he have transmitted his poem to the poet-musician before he arrived? Is it likely he could have thought 'within two months' was a likely time for Conon to take to reach Thessalonika, even allowing for winter conditions, when the normal time was twelve days?[26] Is Elias likely to have been complaining about the decline in court life but evoking an opportunity for its renewal when events of such momentous conflict were taking place? Once Conon was at Thessalonika or in the vicinity, the opposition of *sai e lai* no longer seems applicable, and neither does the idea that the two poets had not seen each other for a long period. This scenario can surely be ruled out.

It appears that Elias had probably left Greece by about 1210.[27] Henri de Valenciennes makes no mention of Conon de Béthune after 1209 until his death, probably 17 December 1219. This was shortly after he assumed the regency of the

[24] Henri de Valenciennes, *Histoire*, pp. 55–64.

[25] Henri de Valenciennes, *Histoire*, p. 109, n. 1; and p. 114, n. 1.

[26] Henri de Valenciennes, *Histoire*, p. 150.

[27] *Cairel*, ed. by Jaeschke, p. 44.

empire of Constantinople in October 1219.[28] A suitable scenario between 1209 and Elias's departure cannot be excluded but does not seem particularly likely, as after making peace with the Lombards and returning to Constantinople Conon does not seem to have had any reason to return to Thessalonika.

There is an earlier sequence of events which offers a much more convincing match. In August 1206 Henry was crowned emperor in Constantinople, and Othon de la Roche, one of Boniface's barons, travelled to Didymotheichon to discuss plans, already mooted, for the marriage of Henry to Boniface's daughter Agnes. Following this she was brought across from Lombardy to Thessalonika and thence to Constantinople. The wedding took place in February 1207, the Sunday after Candlemas, at a solemn ceremony in Hagia Sophia, followed by a splendid wedding feast in the imperial palace of the Boukoleon. Villehardouin reports that there were many festivities, with all the nobles of the land present.[29] We do not know exactly when Agnes arrived in Thessalonika, but her party could have taken Elias's song to Conon in Constantinople, with Elias looking forward to the wedding. The prospect of a royal wedding could well account for Elias's hope for the revival of courtly activities. Admittedly, his nature opening, with its evocation of leaves, flowers, and the birds' mating season, suggests Greece in spring rather than late summer or autumn. Uncertainty about the time-scale would not in fact be surprising in the face of Henry's continuing war on two fronts, against Johannitsa in Thrace and Theodore Lascaris in Asia.[30]

Does this help with the dating, and the meaning, of Conon's 'L'autrier en cel autre païs'? Not necessarily, though it might help to clarify the sequence of relations between the two poets. Let us examine it again, more closely.

The opening line places the narrative in 'cel autre païs'. 'That other country', from Conon's point of view, is somewhere other than Constantinople, and one that the person or persons addressed, in a Greek context, are expected to recognize. This could conceivably be France, but given the response to a poem by speakers from western Thrace, it seems more likely that the 'country' is in Greece. Conon plays cleverly with the *pastourelle* form, reversing audience expectations firstly of a woman's refusal of male advances, and secondly of the woman's social class. At the same time he engages in dialectic with the *tenso* of Elias and Isabella.

[28] Henri de Valenciennes, *Histoire*, p. 64, n. 1; R. L. Wolff, 'The Latin Empire of Constantinople, 1204–1261', in *The Later Crusades*, ed. by Wolff and Hazard, pp. 186–233 (pp. 212–13).

[29] Henri de Valenciennes, *Histoire*, pp. 204–05; Villehardouin, *La Conquête*, II, 264 and 273.

[30] Villehardouin, *La Conquête*, II, 196, 266–304; *The Later Crusades*, ed, by Wolff and Hazard, pp. 204–05.

The male protagonist is now a knight rather than a humbler troubadour.[31] His tone, and that of the narrator who takes the male point of view, is not so much bantering as sarcastic and, by the end of the song, didactic and admonitory. The woman emerges humiliated: well past her sell-by date in the beauty department, bad-tempered, foolish, slanderous, over-reliant on rank, and self-deluding. If it could be said that Conon promotes the original male interlocutor of Elias's *tenso* in rank and moral superiority, the female's fate is quite the contrary.

Might Conon actually be targeting Isabella? Two further clues suggest this, though they do not amount to proof. These are the allusions to the lady's recent suitors, *li Marchis* and *li Barrois* (ll. 39–40). Wallenskold identifies the Marquis as likely to have been Boniface of Montferrat, and *li Barrois* as Guillaume des Barres, 'connu pour sa force prodigieuse et qui, vers 1188, vainquit Richard Coeur de Lion dans un combat singuler'.[32] These must represent his best guess, though it is an odd combination: why a marquis who was a contemporary of Conon in Greece coupled with a figure from the past from the West? In fact, Boniface is not the only marquis who might be a candidate here, and moreover if I am right in thinking that Conon's song postdates Boniface's death, the audience might well assume that the title refers to a living contemporary, rather than the dead Boniface; the poem is situated in the very recent past, 'the other day', with the woman referring to her suitors courting her within the last month (ll. 1 and 38). The other marquis in Greece at this time was Guy of Pelavicino, and Guy was a close associate of Isabella and Ravano and one of the 'Lombard plotters'.[33] As for *li Barrois*, it is tempting to conjecture that he may be a second leading 'Lombard plotter', the constable of the kingdom of Thessalonika referred to in Henri de Valenciennes' chronicle as *Buffois* (variants *Boufoiz* and *Bufois*).[34] The

[31] *Cairel*, ed. by Lachin, p. 90, suggests that when Elias says if Conon likes his *chanssoneta* the thanks should go to Isabella, he may be referring to the *tenso*, and Conon's imitation of it. In other words, Elias has heard Conon's 'L'autrier' and takes this as a sign that Conon has appreciated the *tenso*. While this is possible, it seems much more likely that Elias is referring to the song he has just composed: he sends it to Conon hoping for his approval, and indicates his debt to Isabella as his patron.

[32] *Chansons de Conon de Béthune*, ed. by Wallensköld, pp. xii, 105, and 174, citing (for *Barrois*) *Oeuvres de Rigord et de Guillaume le Breton*, ed. by H.-F. Delaborde, Société de l'Histoire de France, 2 vols (Paris: Renouard, 1882–85), II, pp. 81, 83–86 (bk 3, ll. 431–35 and 485–565), and see the Index.

[33] Henri de Valenciennes, *Histoire*, pp. 661 and n. 1, 667 and n. 2. One might also consider Marquis William IV of Montferrat, Boniface's son by his first marriage, though he was not in Greece at the time of the plot, and apparently not interested in it.

[34] See Henri de Valenciennes, *Histoire*, Index, p. 125.

scribes transmitting Conon's poem evidently had difficulty with the name, the variants to the reading of manuscripts *HKMNTU* being *barvois P*, *baviers O*, *bretons C*, *borjois I*.[35] Palaeographically *Barrois* and *Buffois* are not far apart and it would not be hard to imagine a scribal error or incomprehension giving rise to the majority reading. The definite article would still need to be explained; perhaps there is a play on the name, giving the sense 'the proud/presumptuous'.[36] If my interpretation is correct, Conon's song might be thought likely to date from the period of the Lombard plot, before Conon's diplomacy has brought about a reconciliation between Ravano and the Emperor Henry in May 1209 and Ravano has saved Henry from a plot to kill him by the count of Biandrate at Negroponte (June 1209) — though even after this it is not impossible that Conon should harbour ill feelings towards Ravano's lover and a continued supporter of the Lombard cause.

It will be recalled that in the *tenso*, Isabella cast aspersions on Elias's sexuality. As I have mentioned, recent interpretations have all accepted the idea that she was implying his impotence. But is that the only possibility? Conon's 'lady' imputes her suitor's lack of interest in her not to impotence but to homosexuality. Might this not also have been Isabella's implication? A monastery is, after all, the home not only of celibates, but also of men and boys. But would not this be a shocking innuendo to link with the Greek Orthodox patriarch? Certainly, if the context is benign. But not if the context is the triumphant overthrow of the Greeks in 1204, when the Latins treated them with contempt.

Moreover, at this time Greek Orthodoxy was often equated with heresy, and Conon's knight denigrates the 'lady' for making accusations specifically of *iresie* against suitors who have tired of her. Wallensköld glosses *iresie* as 'sodomie, immoralité', referring back to lines 23–24, and Woledge (p. 107) translates 'immorality'. The Old French dictionary of Tobler–Lommatzsch indicates no other interpretation of *eresie* than 'heresy', and analogously in the case of its cognates (*erege*, *eregie*, *erese*, *eretical*, *eretique*). The *Französisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* does however indicate secondary senses of a sexual nature in most

[35] Longnon, in Henri de Valenciennes, *Histoire*, p. 79, n. 1, notes that his exact name is uncertain; in the convention of Ravennika of 2 May 1210, where he figures at the head of the barons, he is called *Nameus Bofedus* and, in the letters of Innocent III (XIII, 136, 184) he is mentioned under the name, 'évidemment tronqué', of *Meboffa*.

[36] See Adolf Tobler, *Altfranzösisches Wörterbuch*, ed. by Erhard Lommatzsch, 10 vols to date (Wiesbarden: Steiner, 1925–), I, 1026, *bofoi, bufoi*; and p. 1027, *bofois*, *bufois*. The Old French may also have a nuance of 'fond of joking and mockery': see Tobler, *Altfranzösisches Wörterbuch*, I, 1189, *bufëor* 'Spötter, Spassmacher' and *buferie* 'Spötterei, Scherz'.

languages, and, following Godefroy, cites one thirteenth-century example of *heresie* referring to the murder of Thomas Becket ('action criminelle') and translates Conon's *eresie* as 'sodomie', other examples being interpreted as 'sorcery' and none other referring to homosexuality.[37] A case that does not appear in the dictionaries occurs in the Old French *Roman de Silence* where, similarly to the woman in Conon's poem, a spurned woman concludes that the object of her advances must be homosexual (*erete*).[38] Is it wrong to see in Conon's use of the word anything other than 'immorality'? Godefroy glosses as 'acte contraire aux lois de l'Eglise', but the nuance seems more specific than this (it does not seem to be applied, for example, to adultery) and it is not hard to see how the murder of Thomas Becket and sorcery might have the taint of heresy about them. While the evidence is uncertain, in the context of Greece, *iresie* may not be an odd word to use for homosexuality, for two reasons: firstly, the final stages of the campaign against Alexius V were seen as a crusade against the schismatic Greeks,[39] and secondly, there were many Bogomil heretics here,[40] and Bogomils were known to Frenchmen as *bougres*. Thrace, in the former eastern part of Bulgaria, was known to be a home to Bogomil heretics and the thirteenth-century Old French language shows the assimilation of the terms *bougre* ('Bulgarian' = 'Cathar'), *bougrerie* (heresy) to sodomy and bestiality.[41] My conjecture is therefore that Conon understood Isabella to have associated John Kamateros with not only homosexuality but also heresy. Not that the trouvère would be censuring any smear on the Greek patriarch — the reproof concerns only her innuendo concerning her Latin suitor.

[37] Tobler, *Altfranzösisches Wörterbuch*, III, 756; *Französisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, ed. by Walther von Wartburg and others, 25 vols to date (1922–) IV, (Basel: Helbing und Lichtenhahn, 1948–52), 374–75.

[38] *Le Roman de Silence*, ed. by Lewis Thorpe (Cambridge: Heffer, 1972), ll. 3925–54 (*erite*, 3935; *herites*, 3947); *Silence: A Thirteenth-Century French Romance*, ed. and trans. by Sarah Roche-Mahdi (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1999).

[39] Villehardouin, *La Conquête*, II, 23–24 reports that the clergy, particularly those who had a special mandate from the Pope, justified the crusaders' second assault on Constantinople on the grounds (*inter alia*) that the Greeks 's'estoient sotrait a l'obedience de Rome'.

[40] For heresy trials directed against Bogomils in Constantinople before the Latin conquest, see Michael Angold, *Church and Society in Byzantium under the Comneni, 1081–1261* (Cambridge: Cambridge Universtiy Press, 1995), p. 133.

[41] See Jean Duvernoy, *La Religion des cathares* (Toulouse: Privat, 1976; repr. 1986), p. 256; and Jean Duvernoy, *L'Histoire des cathares* (Toulouse: Privat, 1979; repr. 1986), pp. 13–46, especially pp. 24 and 41; and Guilhem de Tudela in *La Chanson de la croisade albigeoise*, ed. by E. Martin-Chabot, 3 vols (Paris: Belles Lettres, 1960–73), I, 2.18 ('cels de Bolgaria').

Would this mean Conon did not realise that the *tenso* of Elias and Isabella was a joke? Perhaps — or perhaps this did not matter, as the point was the put-down of the woman who had been a dangerous fomenter of civil war between Thessalonika and Constantinople. The sixty-odd-year-old Conon had been heavily involved in the military and diplomatic leadership of the difficult and ill-fated Fourth Crusade, coping with the continual problem of defections at Zara and Constantinople recorded by Villehardouin, and playing the key diplomatic role in holding the Latins together when Baldwin's reluctance to hand over Thessalonika to Boniface threatened to undermine the entire enterprise. It is likely that he did not entertain amicable feelings towards this ambitious and troublesome woman.

What conclusions can be drawn from all this? Firstly, it seems more likely that the *tenso* of Elias and Isabella took place at some major court festival, such as a coronation, rather than in the midst of insecurity and upheaval in Thrace. It is therefore more likely to have been composed in Constantinople in 1203 or spring 1204 than in Didymoteichon in the summer of 1204. It is unlikely to be much later than this, because of the turbulence of the next two years, and the sequence of events indicated in Elias's *Estat ai dos ans* tends to confirm this. Secondly, Conon's poem is almost certainly a response to the *tenso* of Elias and Isabella. Given this, it is legitimate at least to question whether Conon's poem is more than a literary development of a playful scenario, and indeed represents a political attack on the female interlocutor, a *fautor* of a civil war which had not only caused both Conon and his overlord a great deal of trouble but had put Henry and his troops in immediate danger of their lives. Thirdly, it is far from certain that Isabella's reference to John Kamateros is benign, or that he was present when the *tenso* was first performed. It may be an unkind reference to his exile in 1204, or even a smear on Greek Orthodoxy. Finally I suspect that in the forthcoming marriage of Boniface's daughter Agnes, Elias saw a career opportunity which he sought to exploit in his *Estat ai dos ans*, where he may have been trying to mend fences with Conon de Béthune. Conon's response will have perhaps disabused him; at any rate, Elias does not seem to have stayed in the East much longer.

Table 2: Key dates for Greeks and Latins in the Byzantine Empire, 1199–1219

1199	John Kamateros becomes patriarch of Constantinople.
1203, July–November	Isaac and wife Margaret (Maria) of Hungary set on throne of Constantinople. Latins encamped outside city, much coming and going between Greeks and Latins. Isaac crowned in August. Celebrations and feasting on and off throughout this period.
1204, 13 April	Fall of Constantinople and flight of John Kamateros, who rests at Selymbria (?), thence to Adrianopolis (?) and/ or Didymoteichon.
1204, 12 (16?) May	Coronation of Baldwin IX as emperor of Romania.
1204, summer	Baldwin and Boniface at war in Thrace. Boniface fortifies Didymoteichon and proclaims firstborn son (Manuel) emperor of the Romans, winning over scores of Greeks who came in from all the surrounding country. Conon de Béthune in Constantinople; takes charge of peace negotiations between Baldwin and Boniface. Boniface returns to Constantinople; peace made; Boniface withdraws from Didymoteichon and moves to Thessalonika.
1204, 12 August	Ravano delle Carceri represents doge Henry Dandolo at the concession of Crete by Boniface of Montferrat, at Adrianopolis. He passes to the service of the Marquis, perhaps on this occasion.
1205, 23 February	Baldwin informed of Roman (Greek) rebellion in Didymoteichon and Adrianopolis.
1205, March–early summer	Baldwin defeated and captured at Adrianopolis by Johannitsa and Kumans. Conon de Béthune guards Constantinople. Boniface returns from campaign in Peleponnese; war in Thrace. Conon sent to find materials for war engines in mountains of the Propontis.
1205, August	Boniface grants the lordship of Negroponte to Ravano delle Carceri.
1206, February–June	Johannitsa marches out to conquer Adrianopolis and Didymoteichon; withdraws on report that Latin host on way to help defenders. Death of John Kamateros (26 June).
1206, August	Henry crowned emperor. Othon de la Roche comes to Didymoteichon to discuss marriage (already mooted) of Henry and Boniface's daughter Agnes, who is brought over from Lombardy to Thessalonika and then Constantinople.
1206, 22 August	Henry informed that Cumans and Vlachs have razed Didymoteichon to the ground.
1206, end October	The Emperor's troops leave the district of Adrianopolis.
1207, February	Sunday after Candelmas Henry marries Agnes; all nobles of land present, festivities.
1207, summer	On the banks of the Maritsa, Boniface pays homage to Henry and receives Thessalonika from him as a fief, as he had from Baldwin.

Table 2: Key dates for Greeks and Latins in the Byzantine Empire, 1199–1219 *(cont.)*

1207, August–September	Boniface and Henry near Ipsala; Conon de Béthune left guarding Adrianopolis.
1207, 4 September	Death of Boniface.
1208, winter	Henry advised to go to Thessalonika and obtain fealty of Lombards on behalf of son Demetrius, under regency of Count Oberto of Biandrate. Lombard plot to place William IV of Montferrat on throne of Thessalonika and make it independent of Constantinople. Supported by Italian barons including Amé Buffa, Guy Pelavicino and Ravano dalle Carceri. Henry finds his way to Salonika blocked; sends for Conon de Béthune and others to go and talk to Lombards at Thessalonika. Conon's negotiations let Henry into Thessalonika.
1209, 6 January	Demetrius crowned king. Conon in Thessalonika, then Serres, Christopolis (Kavalla), and vicinity. He learns of a plot, returns to Thessalonika, then moves to Kitros and back to Thessalonika.
1209, 26 March	Henry receives news from Lombards re peace negotiations. Henry spends spring of 1209 campaigning in Thessaly, with Conon involved in fighting here.
1209, *c.* 1 May	Conon peace-making at Ravennika. Guy Pelavicino, Aubertins, and Ravano fail to appear. Henry rides to Thebes, but Lombards inside the fortress refuse him entry; he lays siege to it.
1209, *c.* 20 May	Ravano sends word for a truce, and the Lombards yield all their fiefs and lands to the Emperor.
1209, June	Conon in depths of Morea. Ravano, now loyal to Henry, foils a plot by the Count of Biandrate to kill him at Negroponte. Back at Thessalonika, Henry summons Conon.
1216 (or 1219?)	Death of Ravano.
1217, April	Pope Honorius III agrees to the Lombard faction's wish that William of Montferrat be invested with all the rights and duties of the kingdom of Thessalonika, leaving Demetrius with nothing but the empty title.
1219, October–December	Conon chosen as regent of the empire, and again after the death of Peter's wife Yolanda; died probably 17 Dec.

Greeks and Franks After the Fourth Crusade: Identity in the *Chronicle of Morea*[*]

Teresa Shawcross

In the wake of the Fourth Crusade and the capture of Constantinople in 1204, western invaders proceeded to conquer and hold extensive territories formerly belonging to the Byzantine Empire. Of the crusader states that were created in the early thirteenth century, by far the most successful was the Principality of Morea or Achaia. Encompassing the entire Peloponnese under a single dominion, the Principality also claimed in its heyday suzerainty over the Duchy of Naxos, the Duchy of Athens, and the Triarchy of Negropont. It enjoyed considerable longevity and indeed was still in existence at the dawn of the modern era, with its last outpost, the city of Patras, reverting back to the Byzantines only in 1430. The anonymous *Chronicle of Morea*, which comprises a detailed account of the formation and government of the Principality by the Villehardouin dynasty, is our single most important narrative source for the western occupation of Greece in the late Middle Ages. Originally composed locally in the early fourteenth century, the work survives in eight manuscripts in four languages: Greek, French, Aragonese, and Italian.[1] Although there has

* The full results of the research on which this article is based can now be read in the monograph, Teresa Shawcross, *The Chronicle of Morea: Historiography in Crusader Greece* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

[1] Editions: *The Chronicle of Morea (Το χρονικόν του Μορέως), A History in Political Verse*, ed. by John J. Schmitt (London: Methuen, 1904) (for the Greek); *Livre de la conqueste de la Princée de Morée — Chronique de Morée (1204–1305): Publiée pour la Société de l'Histoire de France*, ed. by Jean Longnon (Paris: Renouard, 1911) (for the French); *Chroniques gréco-romanes inédites ou peu connues*, ed. by Carl Hopf (Berlin: Culture et civilisation, 1873), item XXIV, pp. 414–68 (for the Italian); *Libro de los fechos et conquistas del principado de la Morea*, ed. by Alfred Morel-Fatio (Genève: Fick, 1885)

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been considerable controversy as to the form of the original,[2] MS Fabricius 57 of Det Kongelige Bibliotek, København (Royal Library, Copenhagen) (= H), a codex in Greek written in a fifteen-syllable line known as *πολιτικός στίχος*, can be argued to represent our most reliable witness. It is this manuscript that will be examined here.[3]

While visitors and settlers from the west had not been unknown either in the capital or in the provinces of Byzantium for some centuries prior to 1204, such intercourse as had occurred had tended to be exclusively economic and social. The change of regime that accompanied the Fourth Crusade meant that relations between foreigners and the indigenous population needed to be redefined and a pattern of permanent coexistence devised.[4] In turn, this can be shown to have had a profound impact upon the discourses with which collective identities came to be represented in the subjugated lands. The interest of the *Chronicle of Morea* lies in the fact that it juxtaposes two very different approaches. Sometimes, the terms 'Frank' and 'Greek' appear to function as polarized categories. The narrative thus accepts the existence of distinct ethno-religious groups and interprets the past in terms of a confrontation between these rival groups. On other occasions, however, ethno-religious divisions are presented as being relatively insignificant, and emphasis is put instead on the existence of an overarching identity in which both Franks and Greeks could share.

(for the so-called 'Aragonese'). An English translation of the Greek version of the *Chronicle* has been produced: *Crusaders as Conquerors: The Chronicle of Morea*, ed. and trans. by Harold E. Lurier (New York: Columbia University Press, 1964).

[2] Although theories concerning an original in another language have been advanced (*Livre de la Conqueste*, ed. by Longnon, p. lxxvi), the debate in recent decades has concentrated on the question of the primacy of the French (David Jacoby, 'Quelques considerations sur les versions de la Chronicle de Morée', *Journal des savants* (1968), pp. 133–89) and Greek versions (M. Jeffreys, 'The Chronicle of Morea: Priority of the Greek Version', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 68 (1975), 304–50). My own theories concerning the relationship between the different texts of the *Chronicle*, and my reasons for suggesting that MS Fabricius 57 is the most authoritative surviving text, cannot be explored here but are developed at length in my monograph.

[3] This manuscript will henceforth, for the sake of convenience, be referred to simply as 'the *Chronicle of Morea*'. However, it should be borne in mind that the ideological preoccupations of this manuscript are not necessarily identical in all points to those of the other existing recensions of the text.

[4] David Jacoby, 'The Encounter of Two Societies: Western Conquerors and Byzantines in the Peloponnesus after the Fourth Crusade', *American Historical Review*, 78 (1973), 873–906 (pp. 873–74)

The boundary between Franks and Greeks is interpreted in the *Chronicle of Morea* with recourse to two ethnic stereotypes, one of which is highly favourable, while the other is highly unfavourable. Thus, by means of a series of explicit or implicit appraisals, the text repeatedly contrasts the degeneracy of the Greeks with the moral rectitude of the Franks. In this, the writer draws upon a historiographical tradition for which there are some indications already in tenth-century western texts, but which developed markedly with the inception of the crusading movement.[5] Of the chronicles of the First Crusade, the anonymous *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, a work widely disseminated in the West where it was plagiarized by other writers, is violently anti-Greek in its sentiment. 'Malicious' ('iniquus'), 'wretched' ('infelix') and 'most wicked' ('nequissimus') are the adjectives which the *Gesta* applies to the Emperor Alexios I Komnenos, while it refers to Tatikios, the Byzantine general and military advisor to the crusaders, as 'our enemy' ('inimicus').[6] A similar stance is found in Raymond of Aguilers,[7] Ekkehard of Aura, Albert of Aachen and even, occasionally, Fulcher of Chartres.[8] With the Second and Third Crusades, these attitudes came to be expressed even more forcefully. Thus, Odo of Deuil repeatedly reviles the Emperor Manuel I and his representatives as traitors to Christianity, calling out for vengeance for those who had suffered the Greeks' 'villainy' ('scelera').[9] The anonymous *Itinerarium peregrinorum et gesta regis Ricardi* describes the Greeks as 'a perfidious race, a

[5] The question of the manner in which Byzantium was perceived in western sources has been examined in Raymond H. Schmandt, 'Orthodoxy and Catholicism: Public Opinion, the Schism and the Fourth Crusade', *Diakonia*, 3 (1968), 284–99; and Bunna Ebels-Hoving, 'Byzantium in Latin Eyes before 1204: Some Remarks on the Thesis of Growing Animosity', in *The Latin Empire*, ed. by Krijnie Ciggaar and V. D. van Aalst (Hernen: Bredius, 1990), pp. 21–31; Annetta Ilieva, 'Crusading Images in Cypriot History Writing?', in *Cyprus and the Crusades*, ed. by Nicholas Coureas and Jonathan Riley-Smith (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre and the Society for the Study of the Crusades and the Latin East, 1995), pp. 295–303; and Annetta Ilieva, 'Francus contra Graecum? Some Notes on Identity in Cypriot History Writing during the Thirteenth Century', in *Visitors, Immigrants and Invaders in Cyprus*, ed. by Paul W. Wallace (Albany: Institute of Cypriot Studies, State University of New York, 1995), pp. 87–103.

[6] *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum (The Deeds of the Franks and Other Pilgrims to Jerusalem)*, ed. and trans. by Rosalind Hill (London: Nelson, 1962), pp. 6, 10, 12, 34.

[7] Raymond d'Aguilers, *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem*, trans. by John Hugh Hill and Laurita Lyttleton Hill (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1968), pp. 18, 21, 22, 26.

[8] See Schmandt, 'Orthodoxy and Catholicism', p. 287.

[9] Odo of Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici VII in Orientem*, ed. and trans. by Virginia G. Berry (New York: Columbia University Press, 1948). pp. 10, 12, 14, 26, 40, 54, 56, 68, 72, 86, 90, 98, 106–08, 112, 128, 136, 140.

wicked generation, and utterly degenerate' ('Gens perfida, generatio nequam et omnino degenerans').[10] Many of the comments found in writers such as these were collected together in the *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum* of William of Tyre. This lengthy history of the lands of Outremer, in discussing the reigns of the Emperors Alexios I, Manuel I, and Andronikos I, contains frequent remarks on the deceitful conduct of the Byzantines.[11]

In crusading narratives, therefore, the association of perfidy with Greekness had become a well-worn convention long before the fourteenth century. Given this, it is not surprising to find that the topos of the 'graeculus perfidus' is very much in evidence in the *Chronicle of Morea*.[12] In the text, emphasis is put on what is described as the eternal untrustworthiness and deceitful behaviour of Greeks (ll. 593–94). With regard specifically to the events of 1204, the Greeks are accused of committing a terrible act of 'treason' or 'ἀπιστίαν' against the crusaders (ll. 615–28). The counsellors of Alexios IV Angelos are called 'lawless traitors' ('ἄνομοι δημηγέρτες', v. 657), 'cursed by God' ('θεοκατάρατοι', v. 657), and, a few lines further on, 'infidels' ('πανάπιστους', v. 674). Similar denunciations recur in later episodes of the *Chronicle*, such as that of the battle of Pelagonia. Here, in a speech attributed to the Frankish ruler Guillaume II de Villehardouin, mistrust and animosity are directed not against the Emperor and the Greeks of Constantinople, but against the Byzantine Despot Michael of Epirus and his family, who had wooed the Prince as their ally only to abandon him on the battlefield (ll. 3966, 3975).[13]

[10] *Chronicle of the Third Crusade: A Translation of the 'Itinerarium peregrinorum et gesta regis Ricardi'*, trans. by Helen J. Nicholson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1997), p. 57.

[11] Passages are in William of Tyre, *Historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum*, in *Recueil des historiens des Croisades: Historiens occidentaux*, ed. by Académie Royale des inscriptions et belles-lettres, 5 vols (in 6) (Paris: Imprimerie royale, 1844–95), I–II (1844, 1859); new edition: William, archibishop of Tyre, *Willelmi Tyrensis archiepiscopi chronicon: Guillaume de Tyre, Chronique*, ed. by R. B. C. Huygens, CCCM, 63, 63A (Turnhout: Brepols, 1986), bk I, chap. 1, II. 5, II. 6, II. 8, II. 10, II. 12–14, II. 19–.21, II. 23; bk X, chap. 13; bk XI, chap. 6; bk XII, chap. 5; bk XVI, chap. 20; bk XVI, chap. 21; bk XX, chap. 2; bk XXII, chaps 10–13; and translated in William of Tyre, *A History of Deeds Done beyond the Sea*, trans. by Emily A. Babcock and August C. Krey (New York: Columbia University Press, 1943; repr. New York: Octagon, 1976). For anti-Greek sentiments in this text generally, see Peter W. Edbury and John G. Rowe, *William of Tyre: Historian of the Latin East* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 130–50.

[12] See Carolina Cupane, 'Lo straniero, l'estraneo, la vita da straniero nella letteratura (tardo) bizantina di fizione', in *Identité et droit de l'autre*, ed. by Laurent Mayali (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), p. 117.

[13] Indeed, the reputation ascribed to the Greeks is such that the writer feels impelled to explain that, on the occasion of a second alliance between Epirus and the Morea, the new

Indeed, so extensive are references to Greek perfidy in the *Chronicle* that descriptions are given of subsidiary negative traits that were inherited, together with the general topos, from crusading narratives and meant to be interpreted as proof of the Greeks' treacherous disposition. Thus, the Greeks are depicted as perjurers with little respect for the bonds of fealty and kinship, as unchivalrous, cowardly, and guileful practitioners of warfare, and, above all, as heretics. In contrast, the ideals rejected by the Greeks are shown to be upheld by the Franks. According to the text, the latter attach great importance to oaths (l. 440 and v. 5192) and view kinship as prohibiting enmity or warfare (l. 4156). They also possess a strong chivalric ethos, owing their fame as warriors not only to their custom of deliberately seeking out combat, but to their preference for fighting honourably, face-to-face, as mounted knights wielding lances and swords (ll. 1050, 1109, 4912–13, 5125–28, 6964, 8952–54). Finally, they hold the true faith taught by the Apostles (ll. 772–73).

Twelfth-century Latin historians had already spoken of Greece as 'devious' ('callida'), 'deceitful' ('fraudulens'), or 'false' ('mendax'), and referred to Byzantine emperors as habitual committers of perjury.[14] Similarly, French accounts of the Fourth Crusade had insisted upon the 'treachery' ('caitiveté') of Alexios IV Angelos, whom they accused of breaking his word.[15] The same pattern is maintained in the *Chronicle of Morea*, which declares that, unlike the Franks (l. 440 and v. 5192), or even non-Christian populations (ll. 1249–50, 5729), the Greeks, from the time of the Komnenoi (ll. 82–83), have not kept true to a single oath that they have sworn (ll. 801–02).[16] Above all, the text connects such conduct with what it views to be contempt on the part of the Greeks for the hallowed nature of those oaths which bind individuals together in fealty or kinship. Early on in the Prologue of the *Chronicle*, revulsion at the murder by the Greeks of their rightful lord, Alexios IV, is first declared in a speech attributed to the leaders of the Fourth Crusade (ll. 820–22), and then reinforced by its subsequent reiteration by 'the wisest' ('οἱ φρονημώτεροι') crusaders (ll. 833–35).[17]

Despot, Nicephorus, in order to guarantee his good faith, had to offer his son as a hostage to Prince Florent 'until the Prince heads back | and returns to the land of the Morea, | together with his armies, without deceit or trickery' ('ἕως οὗ νὰ ποιήσῃ στρέμμα | ὁ πρίγκιπας, καὶ νὰ στραφῇ στὸν τόπον τοῦ Μορέως, | οὕτως μὲ τὰ φουσσᾶτα του, ἄνευ τρόπου καὶ δόλου', ll. 8836–38) .

[14] Ebels-Hoving, 'Byzantium in Latin Eyes before 1204', p. 27.

[15] Robert de Clari, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, ed. by Philippe Lauer, Classiques français du moyen âge, 40 (Paris: Champion, 1924), § 59; Geoffroy de Villehardouin, *La Conquête de Constantinople*, ed. by Jean Dufournet (Paris: Flammarion, 1961), vol. II, §§ 210–13.

[16] See also ll. 728, 1248, 7133, 7156–57, 7185–86.

[17] See also ll. 1245–62.

Similar disgust and dismay are also expressed with regard to the betrayal by the Despot of Epirus of his son-in-law Guillaume II de Villehardouin, the behaviour of the Despot being glossed with a statement to the effect that Greeks only contract a marriage alliance or assume the role of blood-brothers or godfathers in order to achieve a person's destruction (ll. 3932–37).

In western historiography, a further recurring claim was that Greeks comported themselves in an unmanly and base manner when at war. The *Gesta Francorum*, for example, declares that the Franks conquered an 'effeminate people' ('effeminatis gentibus').[18] Similarly, Odo of Deuil refers to the 'indolence of the Greeks' ('Graecorum inertium'), which is such, he claims, that the Greeks can said to have put aside their virility and degenerated entirely 'into women' ('in feminas'). The *Itinerarium peregrinorum*, too, speaks of an unwarlike nature whose military skill depends on 'artifice, not arms' ('arte non armis').[19] Particularly representative is Walter Map's statement in *De nugis curialium,* which refers to the Greeks as 'soft and effeminate, wily and loquacious, devious toward their enemies and cowardly' ('molles et femineos, loquaces et dolosos, nulliusque contra hostes fidei uel uirtutis').[20] In keeping with this tradition, the *Chronicle of Morea* insists that the military prowess of the Greeks is confined to mere words. According to the text, the boasts of the Greeks tend to be offset by cowardly deeds (ll. 3836–37).[21] In the account of the battle of Prinitsa, for instance, the bragging of an imperial general (l. 4761) that his troops will have the Franks 'for breakfast' leads directly to a Greek defeat and the general's own ignominious flight from the battlefield.[22]

Indeed, the *Chronicle* identifies certain tactics as distinctive of a 'Greek type of warfare' ('τὴν μάχην τῶν Ρωμαίων', l. 1114). Considered characteristic are the avoidance of pitched battles and a marked reluctance to commit forces to large-scale conflict (for example, ll. 1045–46). Thus, Emperor Michael VIII is portrayed instructing his general not to deploy a field-army to fight the Franks, but to practise guerrilla warfare instead (ll. 6661–78). Such warfare is shown

[18] *Gesta Francorum*, ed. by Hill, p. 66.

[19] Odo of Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici VII*, p. 98; *Itinerarium peregrinorum*, trans. by Nicholson, p. 57.

[20] Walter Map, *De nugis curialium*, ed. and trans. by Matthew R. James, rev. by C. N. L. Brooke and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), p. 175.

[21] 'all these were facile words, boasts of the Romans | who, without exception, vaunt themselves and censure their enemies' ('ὅλα ἦσαν λόγια εὔκαιρα, καύχημα τῶν Ρωμαίων | ὅπου ἐπαινοῦνται ὁλοστινοὶ καὶ ψέγουν τοὺς ἐχτρούς τους').

[22] '"I see that a tit-bit has headed our way"' ('προγεματίτσιν γὰρ μικρὸν ἐβλέπω ὅτι μᾶς ἦλθεν'). See also: ll. 770, 761–70.

in the text to manifest itself in a preference for skirmishing, with swift attacks and swifter retreats being launched against the enemy by means of a light cavalry consisting mainly of archers (ll. 1123). Even when an open military encounter is unavoidable, ruses are used to wear down the enemy and create the most propitious conditions (ll. 3712–23). The message in the *Chronicle of Morea* is that the Greeks, far from being true *milites* (l. 6963),[23] have a cautious nature replete with cunning, and are reliant upon stratagems, tricks, and deceptions for victory (ll. 1047, 1049, 1078, 6677, 6965).[24]

The final, and perhaps most serious, accusation put forward against the Greeks by western writers, at least after the Second Crusade, was that of religious heresy. Odo of Deuil indignantly draws attention to the 'blasphemia' and 'haereses' of the Greeks, remarking that their errors 'had become known' and that 'they were judged not to be Christians'.[25] Once again, the *Chronicle of Morea* emulates such precedents, displaying its most vehement anti-Orthodox sentiments in a lengthy tirade (ll. 758–826) attributed to the crusaders on the eve of the capture of Constantinople. This tirade begins with a protest from the crusaders that the Greeks praise only their own and look down upon the Franks, calling them 'dogs' ('σκύλους'). The Greeks, the crusaders add, are all too happy to eat and drink with the Turks without pointing out to them the error of their ways, but when an Orthodox church is used by a Frank to say mass it remains empty for forty days. The explanation given by the crusaders for this conduct is that the Greeks no longer acknowledge papal primacy or the foundation of the Church by Saint Peter. Whereas, the tirade concludes, in the old days West and East shared one faith (l. 789) and Greek priests received papal ordination, the Greeks have left the Church of Rome (l. 799) and begun to appoint their own patriarch (l. 815), refusing to obey the teachings of the Church as these were received from the apostles and evangelists.[26] While it pays little heed to the subtleties of the *filioque* and of other doctrinal debates, the tirade explicitly brands the Greeks as 'schismatics' ('σχισματικοί', v. 800) and accuses them of 'heresies' ('αἵρεσες', l. 769). The same sentiments are expressed by the *Chronicle* in six additional passages

[23] 'they are not soldiers' ('οὐδὲν εἶναι στρατιῶτες').

[24] 'with deceitful ploys' ('μὲ τρόπους μηχανίας'); 'with cunning and deceit' ('μὲ πονηρίαν καὶ μηχανίαν'); 'with deceit, with various ploys' ('μὲ μηχανίαν, μὲ τρόπον'); 'because they have cunning and they fight with artifice' ('διατὸ ἔχουν πονηρίαν καὶ πολεμοῦν μὲ τέχνην').

[25] Odo of Deuil, *De profectione Ludovici VII*, pp. 54, 56.

[26] 'Franks and Romans [i.e. Greeks] used to have one faith' ('Οἱ Φράγκοι γὰρ καὶ οἱ Ρωμαῖοι πίστιν μίαν ἐκρατοῦσαν') and 'they abandoned the laws and teachings of the Church of Rome' ('ἀφήκασιν τὸν ὅρδιναν τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ρώμης').

of religious invective (ll. 472–75, 508–09, 724–30, 833–35, 1245–62, and 3932–37).

Thus far, the *Chronicle of Morea* would appear to adhere, both in general terms and in matters of detail, to a tradition that had evolved over several centuries in historiographical writings associated with the Crusades. Yet it would be wrong to suggest that there is nothing innovative about the content of the text. Crucially, the stereotype of the 'perfidious Greek' serves a specific, restricted polemical purpose in the narrative. After the Fourth Crusade, some areas of the eastern Mediterranean remained under or relatively quickly reverted to Byzantine rule. Indeed, states governed by the Byzantine elite were set up and flourished in Epirus and Asia Minor. Moreover, in 1261, a Byzantine emperor was re-established in Constantinople. The anti-Greek diatribes found in the *Chronicle of Morea* are always politically motivated. They exclusively target the subjects of the organized Byzantine states that are identified by the narrative as posing an immediate threat to the continued survival of Frankish Greece. It is when, and only when, one becomes an opponent of the Frankish conquerors that one is considered to be a traitor, an oath-breaker, a coward, a heretic — and therefore, according to the discourse adopted by the text, a 'true Greek'. Indeed, a fundamental distinction is drawn by the *Chronicle* between the Greeks living in territories still under Byzantine control, and the Greeks of the Principality of Morea. Once the *Chronicle* embarks upon its main subject-matter, the formation of the Villehardouin Principality, and begins to talk about the Greeks of the Peloponnese rather than those of Constantinople, invective, hatred, and contempt are carefully laid aside. The reason for this is simple. The Greeks of the peninsula are not considered to be enemies. On the contrary, the text asserts not only that the locals were quiescent to the change of regime, but that a partnership of sorts developed between them and their Frankish conquerors.

According to the *Chronicle*, the indigenous population of the Peloponnese displayed little inclination immediately after 1204 to defend the status of their region as a province of the Byzantine Empire. Thus, we are told that the dignitaries and common people of the town of Andravida, upon hearing of the approach of Guillaume de Champlitte, immediately processed out of the city with crosses and icons in order to greet him and welcome him as their new lord (l. 1434). No objections appear to have been raised when his companions introduced him as the new *basileus* (l. 1620). The initial conquest is presented as a series of swift capitulations not only at Andravida, but also at Patras, Pontikokastro, Modon, Coron, Kalamata, and Arcadia, while the countryside, too, is said to have gone over to the Franks from the beginning. Everywhere, we are told, people surrendered 'with great alacrity' ('μὲ προθυμίαν μεγάλην', v. 1499).

As well as this, many Greeks are depicted allying themselves with the incomers and participating actively in the process that led to the creation of the Principality. On no less than nine occasions, the Franks are shown in the act of taking counsel with Peloponnesian locals regarding the manner in which the campaign was to be most effectively conducted (ll. 1424, 1442–43, 1577–78, 1660, 1726–27, 1744–45, 1751–53, 2023, 2080–82). Other types of contribution are also noted. Twice, Greek nobles who had already gone over to the Franks are said to have acted as mediators, sending messengers to kinsmen or friends to encourage them to change sides (ll. 1631–34; ll. 2041–45). In addition, some Greeks are explicitly referred to as accepting 'military service' with Champlitte ('στρατείαν', l. 1646), and fighting alongside the Franks (ll. 2028–28). Finally, the *Chronicle* alleges that local expertise was called upon during the division of the conquered territories (ll. 1649–60, 1831–33).

In return for such displays of allegiance, significant concessions are said to have been made to the Greeks by the Franks. Each surrender (for example, l. 1628) was apparently negotiated with favourable terms for the subjugated population which ensured that their homes would not be seized or their moveable property confiscated. In some areas of the Peloponnese, additional grants of land were made to the locals (l. 1637), while even in those cases where partial expropriation did take place, landowners are stated to have been allowed to maintain holdings appropriate to their status (ll. 1644–48). At Patras, for instance, it was decided that each local would keep his 'ὁσπίτι' or 'house' and 'ἐδικόν' or 'property' (ll. 1410–19), while at Andravida not only were the inhabitants' rights to their 'ἰγονικά' or 'patrimony' preserved (l. 1439), but additional 'honours, grants [...] and great benefices' promised ('τιμήν, δωρεὰς [...] κ'εὐεργεσίας μεγάλας', l. 1440). Similar arrangements were made with regard to Kalamata (l. 1714), Coron (ll. 1706), Arcadia (ll. 1788–90), Nikli (ll. 2046–48), and Lacedaemonia (ll. 2058–60). The people of Corinth finally surrendered, we are told, upon the agreement of terms and the taking of an oath that they would be allowed to keep their landholdings 'even as the other Romans [i.e. Greeks] throughout the Principality' ('μεθ'ὅρκον γὰρ καὶ συμφωνίες, νὰ ἔχουν τὲς πρόνοῖες τους | καθὼς κ'οἱ ἕτεροι Ρωμαῖοι τοῦ πριγκιπάτου ὅλου', ll. 2822–23), while the people of Monemvasia are said to have preserved their status as freemen and agreed to serve with their ships for a wage (ll. 2936–40), and the Melings of the Taygetos mountains were exempted from taxation and *corvées* ('δεσποτικόν'), being required to serve only as they had done under the Byzantine emperors (ll. 3025–31).

The *Chronicle of Morea* gives the impression that both newcomers and native population were willing to treat with one another. That is not all. The emergence is also depicted of a strong shared identity within the Principality. Conquerors

and conquered are presented as gradually becoming more and more conscious of their status not primarily in ethno-religious terms, as Greeks and Franks, as Orthodox and Catholic, but rather as the people of the Morea. The text, indeed, tells of the creation of a mixed society whose members, although of diverse origin, were bound together by their patriotic sentiment for the locality that had become their common home. The collective name of 'Μοραΐτες' or 'Moreots' occurs persistently in the narrative.[27]

Insight into the formation of this new Moreot identity is provided by an examination of two important narrative episodes, one taken from the immediate aftermath of the conquest, the other referring to events half a century later. Of these episodes, the first concerns the rise to pre-eminence in Southern Greece of Geoffroy I de Villehardouin (ll. 2098–2427). According to the *Chronicle*, Villehardouin, who participated in the initial conquest of the region, had proved that he could sort out the affairs of the Franks and Greeks to their equal satisfaction, and earned the love of both great and small (ll. 2098–2101). As a consequence, when the possibility presented itself in around the year 1210 of his replacement by Robert de Champagne, a nobleman newly arrived from France, everyone remained firm in their former preferences. The newcomer was rejected because he was considered to be an outsider who was untutored in the ways of the Morea and might therefore prove less disposed to compromise:

> after Sir Geoffroy had settled
> all the affairs of the Franks and the Greeks —
> each man's desire and the problems with their landholdings —
> great and small loved him much,
> because he was of good repute and delivered justice to all.
> The most prudent among them took counsel
> as to how the lordship of the land of Morea might remain his —
> for he was a good man, who behaved with wisdom towards them all —
> 'rather than that there should come from France some plunderer,
> inexperienced and indiscrete, to throw us into confusion'.[28]

[27] See the examples at ll. 2252, 3900, 3915, 7166, 8266, 8435, 8630. Related circumlocutions (for example, 'all those of the land of the Morea' ('οἱ ἅπαντες τοῦ τόπου τοῦ Μορέως', l. 6506); 'everyone from the Morea' ('οἱ πάντες/ἅπαντας τοῦ Μορέως', ll. 7173, 7858, 7869); 'great and small of the Morea' ('μικροὶ μεγάλοι τοῦ Μορέως', l. 7808)) can also be found in the text.

[28] ἀφότου ἀπεκατέστησεν μισὶρ Ντζεφρὲς ἐκεῖνος | τὰ πάντα ὅλα πράγματα Φραγκῶν τε καὶ Ρωμαίων, | τοῦ καθενὸς τὴν ὄρεξιν καὶ τὰ προνοιάσματά τους, | τόσα τὸν ἀγαπήσασιν μικροί τε καὶ μεγάλοι, | διατὸ ἦτον καλοϋπόληπτος, εἰς ὅλους δικαιοκρίτης. | ὅτι βουλὴν ἀπήρασιν οἱ φρονιμώτεροί τους, | τὸ πῶς νὰ τοῦ ἔμεινε ἡ ἀφεντία τοῦ τόπου τοῦ Μορέως | διατὸ ἦτον ἄνθρωπος καλός, φρόνιμος

The implication of this account is that the Frankish settlers who had participated in the initial conquest had arrived at an understanding with the local Greeks, and that both groups viewed the intrusion of further westerners as a potential threat to their interests.

In the second episode, preparations on the eve of the battle of Pelagonia in 1259 are described (ll. 3464–4014). The *Chronicle* relates at some length how Prince Guillaume II de Villehardouin made a stand at Pelagonia against the Byzantine army of Nicaea with the numerically inferior forces he had brought with him from Southern Greece. Before the battle, the text explains, Prince Guillaume summoned all his knights, both Frankish and Greek (ll. 3959–60), and spoke to them in order to embolden them. In the speech attributed to him, the Prince began by reminding his men that their homeland, the Morea, was far away and that they had little choice but to fight. He then urged them to defend their honour, and consoled them by telling them that though they were few, they were superior to the enemy. They were all, the Prince concluded, 'bound together in fellowship' and thus 'of one flesh' — they should love one another as 'brothers'.

> Comrades, friends and brothers, you who are like my own
> offspring and children [...]
> you know that we are a long way away from the Morea
> and that, if we were to flee, we would not make it back.
> It would be an ugly thing for it to be said abroad
> that though we are soldiers, we fled like women.
> Rather, let us make a stand like true men and hardened soldiers
> — first of all to preserve our lives, as is proper,
> and secondly to gain renown in the world,
> as is desired by all who bear arms.
> Those who are coming to give us battle are a host
> recruited from here and there and speaking many tongues
> [...] We, though fewer than they,
> are bound together in fellowship and are men of one flesh
> and therefore you must all love one another as true brothers'.[29]

εἰς τοὺς πάντας — | «περὶ νὰ ἔλθῃ ἐκ τὴν Φραγκίαν ὁκάποιος ρουχολόγος, | ἀπαίδευτος κι ἀδιάκριτος, καὶ νὰ μᾶς σκανταλίζῃ» (ll. 2098–2107).

[29] 'Συντρόφοι, φίλοι κι ἀδελφοί, ὡς τέκνα καὶ παιδία μου [...] | ἐξεύρετε ὅτι μακρέα ἀπέχομεν τοῦ Μορέως, | κι ἂν θέλομεν νὰ φύγωμε οὐδὲν κατευοδοῦμε | κ'ἤθελεν εἶσται ἄσκημον νὰ εἰπήθῃ εἰς τὸν κόσμον, | ἀφῶν στρατιῶτες εἴμεθεν νὰ φύγωμεν ὡς γυναῖκες. | Ἀλλὰ ἂς σταθοῦμε ὡς ἄνθρωποι, στρατιῶτες παιδεμένοι | τὸ πρῶτον ἂς φυλάξωμεν ὡς πρέπει τὴν ζωήν μας, | καὶ δεύτερον πάλε ἀπὸ αὐτὸ τὸ ἔπαινος τοῦ κόσμου, | τὸ ἀγαποῦσιν οἱ ἅπαντες ὅπου ἄρματα βαστοῦσιν. | Ἐκεῖνοι ὅπου ἔρχονται ἐδῶ τοῦ νὰ μᾶς πολεμήσουν | ὅλοι εἶναι πολυσώρευτοι ἀπὸ διαφόρες γλῶσσες | [...] Ἡμεῖς

The development is insisted upon here of a sense of common purpose between the Franks and the Peloponnesian Greeks who campaigned with them in Epirus. Comradeship, teamwork, and *esprit de corps* are shown to have resulted from the need for collective resistance on the battlefield and from the experience of a war waged in northern territory that was unfamiliar and hostile to all Moreots, whatever their ethnic origin.

In these episodes, a process of self-definition by the people of the Morea is conveyed. Confronted by new influxes of northwestern Europeans seeking their fortune in the East as well as by hostile Byzantines from the surrounding territories, the inhabitants of the Principality apparently developed an awareness of their own distinctiveness. As a correlative to this, allegiances to the respective ethno-religious groups to which Moreots had originally belonged are said to have weakened. Differences in religion, law, and language, which in other contexts demarcate the identities of Greeks and Franks, are shown to have become of lesser importance, and indeed to have been re-interpreted so that they no longer served as a source of division and animosity.

For instance, the *Chronicle* would have us believe that the religious schism between Catholics and Orthodox became a non-issue in the Morea under the Villehardouin. The text relates how, in exchange for a promise of loyal service, Geoffroy I de Villehardouin granted to the native lords or *archondes* and their descendents in perpetuity the entitlement to worship according to the Orthodox rite without fear of forced conversion to the 'Frankish faith' ('τῶν Φραγκῶν τὴν πίστιν', v. 2094). We are also told that his successor Guillaume II made provision on his deathbed for benefactions to Greek as well as Frankish monasteries (ll. 7778–83). Where conflict is mentioned as having occurred, it is conflict not between a Villehardouin prince and his Orthodox subjects, but between a Villehardouin and the Latin ecclesiastical hierarchy. Geoffroy II is said to have appropriated the revenues of the Latin church in order to build himself a royal castle at Chlemoutsi and, as a consequence, received excommunication (ll. 2626–2720).

In addition, with regard to the legal system of the Morea, the *Chronicle* not only acknowledges the role played by the code of the 'Jerusalem Assizes' produced by the crusaders (ll. 2611–14), but accords an equal place to Byzantine law, mentioning among the terms of the agreement which the *archondes* reached with Geoffroy I the stipulation that none of 'our customs, the law of the Greeks'

γὰρ καὶ ἂν εἴμεθεν ὀλίγοι πρὸς ἐκείνους, | ὅλοι εἴμεθεν ἐγνώριμοι καὶ μίας οὐσίας ἀνθρῶποι, | καὶ πρέπει ὅλοι ὡς ἀδελφοὶ ἀλλήλως ν'ἀγαπᾶστε.' (ll. 3963–93)

would be repealed ('τὰ συνήθεια μας, τὸν νόμον τῶν Ρωμαίων', v. 2095). Indeed, the text goes on to suggest that the dual legal tradition which ensued was viewed by all Moreots as a guarantee of independence from external political influence. It is notable that, when Rousseau de Sully was sent as *bailli* by the Angevins, the entire Moreot population (l. 7869) is depicted resisting and proudly invoking the native laws and customs of the Principality as justification (l. 7880). Later, the foreigner Florent de Hainault, newly made consort to the heiress Isabeau de Villehardouin, is said not to have been accepted as Prince until he had sworn to preserve the freedom and local customs of all the inhabitants of the Morea (ll. 8545–46).

Finally, reference is made by the *Chronicle* to the existence of a common language shared by both Greeks and Franks in the Peloponnese. In his address to the other leaders at Pelagonia, Geoffroy de Briel, baron of Karytaina, is presented contrasting the communication difficulties faced by the multi-racial and multi-lingual enemy with the linguistic concord characteristic of the Moreots themselves. 'You should not be afraid because they are more numerous than we | ', de Briel states, addressing his peers, 'for they are a motley army speaking many different languages | and unable to reach a proper understanding with one another ('Μηδὲν σκιαστῆτε τίποτε ἂν εἶναι πλειότεροί μας | ὅτι λαὸς πολύπλοκος κι ἀπὸ διάφορες γλῶσσες | ποτὲ καλὴν συμβίβασιν οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἀλλήλως', ll. 3840–42). He adds: 'Although we may be fewer than they | we are like brothers and we speak one language' ('Ἡμεῖς γὰρ καὶ ἂν εἴμεθεν ὀλίγοι πρὸς ἐκείνους, | ὅλοι εἴμεθεν ὡς ἀδελφοὶ καὶ γλῶσσαν μίαν λαλοῦμεν', v. 3843–44). Many western settlers and their descendants, including the Prince himself, Guillaume de Villehardouin, but also noblemen such as Jean Chauderon, Ancelin de Toucy and Geoffroy d'Aunoy, did know how to speak Greek fluently, and it could be that the statement attributed to de Briel should be understood as alluding to this fact.[30] However, behind the statement may well also lie a convenient, if rather far-fetched, theory — on the origins of languages — that had already been formulated in Western Europe in the late tenth century and was subsequently disseminated by writers such as Aimon de Fleury, Robert d'Auxerre, and Guillaume le Breton, as well as by the *Grandes chroniques*. According to this theory, the French language was to be regarded as a language directly descended from Ancient Greek. Dating to the beginning of the fourteenth century, and thus approximately contemporaneous

[30] See the Greek version of the *Chronicle of Morea*, where mention is made of the fact that, when conversing with a Byzantine general, Guillaume de Villehardouin 'answered in Greek' ('ρωμαϊϊκα τοῦ ἀπεκρίθη', l. 4130); similar references to knowledge of the Greek language by Franks are also found in a number of passages belonging to the French version of the *Chronicle of Morea* (for example, §§ 308, 357, 702).

with the composition of the *Chronicle of Morea*, an anonymous sermon on the war in Flanders, for example, sings the praises of France's Attic tongue.[31]

Moreot identity is depicted in the *Chronicle* as a phenomenon largely confined to the elite. Cohesion is shown to have been achieved in the Peloponnese primarily between crusader knights and local *archondes*. A preoccupation is expressed in the text with the lineages of a number of noble Latin houses, such as those of the de Cor, de Passavant, de Saint-Omer, de Briel-Bruyères, de la Roche, de Brienne, d'Aunoy, Sanudo, and le Maure (ll. 3270–79, 7233–7300, 8000–91, 8452–69). Also referred to is the native nobility of the peninsula, the Voutsarades, Daemonogiannides, Mamonades, and Sofianoi (ll. 1762, 2946–47). By contrast, the poor scarcely figure (ll. 620–28, 3785–90). Yet, although an active solidarity appears chiefly as the experience of a military and landed aristocracy of mixed ethnic origin, the narrative does suggest that there was a filtering down to other strata of the dependent population. There are hints of the existence of a feeling of wider community. Of interest in this respect is the manner in which the *Chronicle* describes the return of Guillaume II de Villehardouin and his men from campaigning in Italy. The jubilation which, the text alleges, greeted their homecoming indicates a feeling of involvement shared by all the inhabitants of the Morea (l. 7173). Many individuals who did not participate personally in the campaign are revealed to have had friends or kinsmen with whom they celebrated the victory (l. 7175), while even those without such connections gave thanks to the Lord God and the Virgin Mary for the lack of casualties and the abundance of booty (ll. 7166–72). Consciousness of a shared fate appears to have been not just restricted to the knights, or even to fighting men more generally, but to have permeated the entire population.

Even more striking are the comments made by the text regarding both the collective love felt by the entire Morea for Geoffroy I and Guillaume II de Villehardouin (ll. 2101, 2762),[32] and the universal lamentations with which the population greeted the death of these two princes (ll. 2462–63, 7807–08).[33]

[31] Hellmut Kämpf, 'Pierre Dubois und die geistigen Grundlagen des französischen Nationalbewusstsein', *Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte des Mittelalters und Renaissance*, 54 (1935), 111–14; see Colette Beaune, *The Birth of an Ideology: Myths and Symbols of Nation in Late Medieval France*, trans. by Susan Ross Huston (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), p. 269.

[32] 'both great and small came to love him so dearly' ('τόσα τὸν ἀγάπησασιν μικροί τε καὶ μεγάλοι'); 'everybody loved him' ('οἱ πάντες τὸν ἀγαποῦσαν').

[33] 'throughout the Morea everyone lamented | for they all held him dear, and loved him greatly' ('θρῆνος ἐγένετον πολὺς εἰς ὅλον τὸν Μορέαν, | διατὶ τὸν εἶχαν ἀκριβόν, πολλὰ τὸν ἀγαποῦσαν'), and 'it is meet that both the great and small of the Morea | should be grief-stricken' ('πρέπει νὰ λυποῦνται | μικροὶ μεγάλοι τοῦ Μορέως').

According to the text, the Villehardouin dynasty acted as a focal point capable of unifying Moreot society under a common political destiny. The Villehardouin are said to have fulfilled this role because they were the embodiment of the Principality itself. The very title by which they referred to themselves, that of 'Prince of Morea' ('Πρίγκιπα τοῦ Μορέως'), is declared to be inseparable from concrete territorial claims (ll. 2700–02). The Peloponnese is described as their place (l. 2503). Its inhabitants are said to be their offspring and children (l. 3963). Through the Villehardouin, loyalty was apparently established to a single authority that controlled all lands and men within fixed boundaries.

The *Chronicle of Morea* traces the portrait of a historical–cultural community which not only possessed a common identity dividing and distinguishing it from other communities, but which was characterized by political autonomy as well as by a territory it regarded as its own. According to the text, the creation of a crusader state in the Peloponnese was predicated upon the collaboration of Franks and local Greeks. Solidarity is said to have rapidly developed between conquerors and conquered, resulting in the breakdown of ethno-religious divisions. That solidarity is presented as aristocratic, the preserve in the main of a military and landed elite. Nevertheless, there is also a suggestion that a sense both of a shared past and of a collective fate extended at certain times to the wider population, with people belonging to all social classes being brought together in their allegiance to the royal bloodline of the Villehardouin.

It is tempting to dismiss this as mere propaganda. Certainly, almost immediately after its creation, the *Chronicle of Morea* can be shown to have acquired the status of authorized history. What information we have about the ownership or patronage of the text associates it with prominent individuals within the established hierarchy.[34] Yet the surviving evidence tends to bear out the image created by the *Chronicle* of the harmonious symbiosis of different groups within the borders of the Principality. Admittedly, occasional resistance by the subject population is attested.[35] However the majority of the surviving sources from the

[34] See E. M. Jeffreys, 'Place of Composition as a Factor in the Edition of the Early Demotic Texts', in *Origini della letteratura neogreca, Atti del secondo congresso internationale 'Neograeca Medii Aevi'*, ed. by N. Panayiotakis, 2 vols (Venezia: Istituto ellenico di studi bizantini e postbizantini di Venezia, 1993) I, 316.

[35] Following the acquisition by the Emperor Michael VIII of the three Peloponnesian castles of Monemvasia, Maina, and Mistra in 1262, an enclave was established by the Byzantines in the south, and troops poured in, launching a series of offensives in 1262–64 with the re-conquest of the remaining territories of the peninsula from the crusaders as their objective. It would appear, from certain veiled passages within the *Chronicle* itself, that throughout these years, the Byzantine commander assigned to the Peloponnese worked hard to win over the local subject

thirteenth and fourteenth centuries not only confirm the existence of alliances between local *archondes* and crusader knights during the initial conquest,[36] but provide indications of the integration of representatives of the native Greek population into the ruling class. Individuals with Greek-sounding forenames and patronymics are revealed to have constituted a significant proportion of the officials and landed nobility.[37] Above all, the privileges enjoyed by indigenous Peloponnesians and the peaceful coexistence of Greeks and Franks in the occupied territories are corroborated by the *Assizes* or legal code of the Principality, in which, alongside notions prevalent in western feudal society, one also finds principles inherited from Byzantine law.[38] The *Chronicle of Morea* can be described, therefore, as a historiographical work that at once both reflected and sought to generate certain external realities.

In the *Chronicle*, a kernel of historical truth has been decked out with fantasies and half-truths so as to provide a pleasing and compelling story of the ways in which a particular society, that of the Principality of Morea, was formed and developed. The aim of this interpretation is not what we would understand to be an 'objective' account, but rather emotional and aesthetic coherence. The

populations, granting privileges through the distribution of *chrysobulls*, and fomenting unrest (ll. 4571–75, 4588–90). As a result of his activities, people at Gisterna, Vatica, Gardelovon, the Drogos of the Melings, and in Tsakonia proper rose up in arms and rallied to the cause of Michael VIII (ll. 4591–93, 4660–62). They were joined soon afterwards by the inhabitants of the Escorta region (ll. 4663, 4675–76, 5636–5705).

[36] See Geoffroy de Villehardouin, *Conquête de Constantinople*, ed. by Jean Dufournet, § 325; and *Analecta sacra et classica Spicilegio Solesmensi parata*, ed. by Jean Pitra, 8 vols (Paris: Jouby et Roger, 1876–91; repr. Farnborough: Gregg, 1967), VI (1891), 90–91, 95.

[37] See *Documents sur le régime des terres dans la Principauté de Morée au XIV^e siècle*, ed. by Jean Longnon and Peter Topping (Paris: Mouton, 1969), pp. 35, 57, 62, 113, 187, 191, 213. Particularly striking is the advancement experienced by one family, that of the Koutroulides. Stephen Koutroules, who owned lands in the district of Vernitza or Avernitza (pp. 45, 48), appears in 1336 as a knight and courtier who exercised the office of *protovestiarios* of the Principality of Morea (p. 21). His son Nicholas Koutroules, who possessed estates at Krestena (p. 73), is described in 1361 as an especially powerful and recalcitrant vassal (p. 150), while his great-grandson, also called Nicholas, is presented in 1379 as one of the leading magnates of the Peloponnese (p. 198).

[38] Thus, in the case of lands in tenure 'in the manner of the Greeks' ('segondo lo muodo de li Griegi'), the law-code recognizes the right of both sons and daughters to inherit, and rejects primogeniture and indivisibility in favour of equal partition (Article 138); similarly when discussing marriages where one of the parties was a Greek land-owner, the code does not allow for a widow's portion (Articles 174 and 194). See *Les Assises de Romanie: Edition critique avec une introduction et des notes*, ed. by George Recoura (Paris: Champion, 1930).

resulting narrative provides a shared history, a repository of memories with which to unite — and educate — successive generations of Moreots. As the *Chronicle* itself puts it:

> I trust that, if you are wise, you shall learn [from my tale],
> for many have profited greatly
> from the stories of those of old
> although they themselves were born after the time of the ancestors.[39]

It is notable that the Prologue contains an explicit statement that both Franks and Greeks were expected to access this work of historiography (l. 724).[40] Indeed, although the earliest version of the *Chronicle* may appear to have been written in an idiom associated with the indigenous population, the text would in fact have been comprehensible not only to them but also to the descendants of the invaders and conquerors, since the local language was one that had gradually come to be employed by members of both ethnicities. Under the guise of a mere telling of what 'has been', the narrative of the *Chronicle of Morea* — encoded in an appropriate linguistic form — functions as a powerful vehicle for the expression of a specifically Moreot ideology. At the time of composition, moreover, over a hundred years after the original conquest, the version of events offered by the chronicler was one that would have had resonance among his contemporaries. We can, perhaps, speak of the emergence of a primitive sense of nationhood.

[39] 'ἐλπίζω, ἂν εἶσαι φρόνιμος, ὅτι νὰ διαφορήσῃς, | ἐπεὶ πολλοὶ ἀπὸ ἀφήγησες ἐκείνων τῶν παλαίων, | ὅπου ἤλθασιν μετὰ ἐκεινῶν, ἐπρόκοψαν μεγάλως'. (ll.1353–55) Note, however, that a slightly different translation would be: 'for many who came after the elders | have greatly prospered | as a result of [paying heed to] the tales told by them'.

[40] 'Listen all of you, both Franks and Romans [i.e. Greeks]' ('Ἀκούσατε οἱ ἅπαντες, Φράγκοι τε καὶ Ρωμαῖοι').

'Catholics' in the Byzantine Political Elite: The Case of Demetrius Kydones*

Judith R. Ryder

There has, at times, been a tendency amongst Byzantinists to think primarily in terms of polarization between Byzantine 'East' and Latin 'West', with regard to both Orthodox-Catholic relations and more general cultural and political attitudes. Although it is certainly not true to say that this tendency is representative of the best of Byzantine scholarship, it still crops up repeatedly on the level of generalizations. Moreover, it is often these generalizations, rather than more detailed and nuanced analyses, which are then transmitted to the 'outside world' of more mainstream medieval scholarship, with the unfortunate result that the model of polarization has been perpetuated at the expense of more nuanced approaches.

The aim of this paper is to contribute to the theme of this volume by presenting a case study of a leading Byzantine figure who clearly did not think primarily in terms of polarization, but was able to develop a creative ideology capable of bridging the gap between East and West. As a short case study focused on a single individual, this paper is inevitably restricted in scope. It is not intended in any way as a comprehensive study of its subject, nor as an attempt to question the general validity of the model of polarization, if sensitively applied. However, it is hoped that it will at least serve to illustrate that Byzantine society and attitudes were by no means monolithic, and should not be treated as such; and that there did exist potential for the Latin west to be incorporated positively into Byzantine ideological understanding.

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The subject of this case study is the notable fourteenth-century statesman and scholar, Demetrius Kydones. Kydones has long been acknowledged as one of the most important Byzantine figures of the period.[1] Born in the 1320s,[2] he entered imperial service under John VI Kantakuzenos[3] in 1347, and continued his career under John V Palaiologos.[4] His political career spanned something over four decades, from the 1340s until at least the 1380s. The nature of his position was not constant over these decades, but for a significant proportion of this time he was highly influential, closely connected to both John VI and John V.[5] The length of time spent by Kydones in imperial service, together with the level at which he served, make him an important figure in Byzantine politics in the period.

However, Kydones's significance does not end there. His surviving written works allow him to be understood in a much more detailed manner. More than four hundred and fifty of his letters survive, including correspondence with many

[1] See, for example, George Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State*, trans. by Joan M. Hussey, 2nd edn (Oxford: Blackwell, 1968), pp. 473–74, where the range of Kydones's activities and his value as a historical source are clearly presented.

[2] See F. Tinnefeld, *Demetrios Kydones, Briefe*, 5 vols (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1981), I. 1, p. 5, with notes, esp. n. 3.

[3] For a monograph on Kantakuzenos, see Donald M. Nicol, *The Reluctant Emperor: A Biography of John Cantacuzene, Byzantine Emperor and Monk, c. 1295–1383* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

[4] John V technically became ruling emperor at the age of nine in 1341, after the death of his father, Andronikos III. His minority saw a period of outright civil war (1341–47), followed by a period in which Kantakuzenos ruled as John VI, with John V, as junior emperor, increasingly sidelined. John succeeded in removing Kantakuzenos in 1354, and his subsequent reign lasted until 1391, albeit with two interruptions: 1376–79, when he was replaced by his son, Andronikos IV, and 1390, when he was briefly supplanted by his grandson, John VII. For a short excursus on John V's life, see Tinnefeld, *Demetrios Kydones, Briefe*, I. 1, pp. 198–205.

[5] The only official title associated with Kydones is that of μεσάζων τοῖς πράγμασι, or, more simply, *mesazon*, a term which expresses the idea of intermediary status. Kantakuzenos refers to Kydones as such in 1354, commenting that Kydones was expected, in this capacity, to be with the emperor at all times: *Ioannis Cantacuzeni eximperatoris Historiarum liber IV*, ed. by J. Schopen, Corpus scriptorum historiae Byzantinae, 20 (Bonn: Weber, 1832), p. 285, ll. 5–9. The role of *mesazon* differed in different periods, but at the time of Kydones was a key position: in secondary literature it is often rendered as 'Prime Minister'. A letter of Urban V in 1369 describes Kydones as John V's 'imperial chancellor': see Oskar Halecki, *Un Empereur de Byzance à Rome: Vingt ans de travail pour l'union des églises et pour la défence de l'empire d'Orient, 1355–75* (Warsaw: Towarzystwo Naukowe Warszawskie, 1930; repr. London: Variorum, 1972), pp. 30–31, no. 12. Although the obscurity which shrouds much of Byzantine court and governmental processes in this period makes it impossible to be precise about Kydones's actual duties, it is perfectly legitimate to consider him as a central figure within the government.

notable figures of the period. To this can be added a range of original writings, such as speeches, treatises, and pieces referred to as 'apologias', which touch upon a range of political, theological, and personal issues. Kydones was also a translator, translating works of Latin theology into Greek: mostly works of Aquinas, but also a range of other material, including a substantial number of Augustinian texts.[6]

It should be clear even from this brief account of Kydones's career and writings that this combination of political significance and literary and theological interests makes him a figure well worth devoting attention to. It is scarcely surprising that Ostrogorsky identifies him as one of the most important sources for fourteenth-century Byzantium, as noted above.

There is, however, a potential problem in knowing where to place Kydones on the Byzantine spectrum. He was undoubtedly a leading Byzantine political and intellectual figure, and as such central to Byzantine life. However, his writings — as will be seen — demonstrate a very positive attitude to the west, approval of western theology, and acceptance of the papacy. With regard to fourteenth-century Orthodox theological debate, he also rejects the Palamite doctrine of divine energies, enforced as Orthodoxy at successive synods in Constantinople in 1341, 1347, and 1351.[7] Because of his advocacy of Western ideas and opposition to Palamite Orthodoxy,[8] if one applies to him the model, described above, of basic polarization between Byzantine 'East' and Latin 'West', particularly in theological and ecclesiastical matters, this would put Kydones out of step with Byzantine society: it would make him anomalous, therefore un-representative. Labels applied to him, such as 'Catholic convert', add to the sense of his separation from his own society and culture.

[6] For details of Kydones's translations and other works, see Tinnefeld, *Demetrios Kydones, Briefe*, I. 1, pp. 62–72.

[7] A theological controversy which raged in Byzantium in the 1330s between Barlaam, a Calabrian Orthodox monk and philosopher, and Gregory Palamas, who became the theological spokesman of the monastic *hesychast* movement in Byzantium, resulted in certain doctrinal formulations being imposed by the patriarchate in these years. For an introduction to the personalities and issues of this controversy, see John Meyendorff, *A Study of Gregory Palamas*, trans. by George Lawrence, 2nd edn (Crestwood: St Vladimir's Seminary, 1998).

[8] The tendency in secondary literature is to speak of 1351 as the 'triumph of Palamism', to equate Orthodoxy thereafter with Palamism, and to regard any indications of subsequent opposition to the settlement as of minimum impact. Kydones's opposition to Palamas, viewed in this way, would make him seem even more isolated from Byzantine norms: not just a champion of western thought, but also a virtually solitary opponent of consensus Orthodoxy. The history of the development of Palamite Orthodoxy is, needless to say, rather more complex than this account would suggest.

The result of this can be that when attention is given to Kydones's ideas and opinions, the focus is on the personal: on the tortured, individual 'convert', divorced from his wider context. Whether this is a helpful approach is open to question. It is based on the idea that preconceptions about the scope of Byzantine society take precedence over close reading and analysis of texts. That is to say, it assumes from the outset that what is presented in Kydones's writings cannot be connected with mainstream trends, because it is out of step with what it is assumed these mainstream trends are. This has the effect of robbing Kydones's writings of much of their potential, because it prevents any real significance being given to much of what he has to say. It seems reasonable, however, to suggest instead that much better use could be made of his contribution by taking what he has to say seriously, in its full context, analysing the scope of the various elements, and incorporating the results into a more nuanced picture of the complexities of Byzantine social, cultural, and political life in the second half of the fourteenth century.

The intention in this paper is to illustrate this by means of a brief presentation and discussion of some key themes to be found in Kydones's thought. It is hoped that this will demonstrate that an uncritical application of the model of polarization to conditions obtaining in Byzantine society can fall far short of the picture provided by the sources — that it may, indeed, lead to serious distortion of what the sources imply. Instead, a more flexible approach is advisable, which admits that Byzantine society was complex and could, at certain times and under certain conditions, play host to a broad spectrum of cultural, political, and religious opinion. If this is taken as the starting point, rather than the model of polarization, 'anomalies' such as those represented by Kydones may then take their rightful place as important elements within a rich, varied, and rapidly changing society.

The basis for the discussion here is Kydones's so-called *Apologia I*, one of a group of works which later scholarship has grouped together as 'apologias'.[9] What the works share in common is that in one way or other they declare and defend aspects of Kydones's religious thought. Of them, the *Apologia I* is probably the best known. It is the only one to have been translated,[10] and is probably the richest in terms of range of ideas.

Broadly speaking, the *Apologia I* presents and defends a positive understanding of the west, in theological and ecclesiastical terms. It is written in the first person,

[9] The precise attribution of writings to this group is not consistent, although there is consensus regarding the *Apologia I*.

[10] German translation in H.-G. Beck, 'Die *Apologia* des Demetrius Kydones', *Ostkirchliche Studien*, 1 (1952), 208–25, 264–82; English translation in James Likoudis, *Ending the Byzantine Greek Schism*, 2nd edn (New Rochelle: Catholics United for the Faith, 1992).

with an autobiographical framework.[11] Large sections of it, however, abandon this framework and discuss issues in more impersonal, general terms. It is not possible within the scope of this paper to address all the issues raised within the text, which is of some length; instead, the emphasis will be on tracing the main characteristics of Kydones's approach to a number of key issues.

First, it can be said that the general impression given by the *Apologia I* is of a positive attitude towards the Latins: Kydones is happy to be open about having professional and personal associations with them, and about thinking highly of their scholarship. For example, in the opening section of the *Apologia I*, in which he gives an account of how he came to learn Latin, he describes this as a direct result of his official duties, which required him to have frequent dealings with a wide range of foreigners — ambassadors, merchants, mercenaries, and noblemen[12], as well as scholars.[13] This led him, he says, to realize that, contrary to Byzantine perceptions of Latins as uneducated, there existed highly educated Latins of great scholarly capacity.[14] He speaks in glowing terms of his Latin teacher, a Dominican, whom he describes as a consummate scholar who 'lives in a manner befitting his learning' (*epistēmē*), and whom he also regards as a friend.[15] Above all, he praises Aquinas: the *Apologia I* describes Kydones's first encounter with Aquinas's work (the *Summa contra Gentiles*, which Kydones proceeded to translate in its entirety), and is enthusiastic about the quality of Aquinas's thought.[16]

When it comes to theological differences between East and West, Kydones is clear about the importance of the theological issues at stake. He emphasizes that the *filioque*[17] is *the* issue of paramount importance, since it has to do with

[11] This autobiographical framework has been particularly emphasized in the article by Frances Kianka, 'The Apology of Kydones Cydones: A Fourteenth-Century Autobiographical Source', *Byzantine Studies*, 7 (1980), 57–71.

[12] *Notizie di Procoro e Demetrio Cidone, Manuele Caleca e Teodoro Meliteniota ed altri appunti per la storia della teologia e della letteratura bizantina del secolo XIV*, ed. by Giovanni Mercati, Studi e testi, 56 (Vatican City: Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, 1931), p. 360, ll. 39–44. In this paper, any references citing Mercati can be assumed to refer to sections of his edition of the *Apologia I*, unless otherwise indicated.

[13] Mercati, p. 361, ll. 52–54.

[14] Mercati, p. 364, ll. 38–41.

[15] Mercati, p. 361, ll. 63–68.

[16] Mercati, p. 362, ll. 99–(10)5.

[17] The doctrine of the procession of the Holy Spirit, probably the most important theological difference between east and west. The Catholic West, following Augustine, declares in the creed that the Spirit proceeds from the Father *and* from the Son (i.e. *filioque*), while

the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, and to err on this question is highly perilous; the importance of the question is reflected, he continues, in the way in which theologians on both sides rain down accusations and curses against their opponents.[18] As might be expected, from the comments already made about Kydones's tendency towards western theology, Kydones's approach to the *filioque* does not then develop along traditional Orthodox lines. However, he also does not take a black-and-white approach to the question.

What he does instead is to develop a framework in which it is possible to regard the divisions as apparent rather than real. He lays the groundwork for this by going back to basics. To deal with the long-standing disagreement between Latins and Greeks on the doctrine of God one must, he insists, consider the teaching of both sides.[19] In identifying the sources of this teaching, and more generally the sources of Christian doctrine, he is predictably traditional, insisting on the importance of Scripture and the teaching of the Fathers, expressed both in Councils and elsewhere.[20] However, he adds to this a particularly important theme, which has historically been central to any attempts to foster understanding between Orthodoxy and Catholicism: he insists that Latin Fathers have equal standing with Greek Fathers.[21] To support this, he takes care to demonstrate that the standing of the Latin Fathers is also upheld by Councils accepted by the Orthodox Church, and that Latin Fathers are upheld in Orthodox liturgical commemoration — even when they are at the same time condemned in some Orthodox rhetoric as heretical.[22]

Orthodoxy regards the addition of 'and from the Son' as heretical. For a brief introduction to this, see, for example, John Meyendorff, *Byzantine Theology: Historical Trends and Doctrinal Themes*, 2nd edn (New York: Fordham University Press, 1979), pp. 91–94.

[18] ἀλλ᾽ οὐδὲ τὸ δόγμα μικρόν τι καὶ οἷον καλῶς ἔχειν καὶ παροφθῆναι βασανίζων ἀνεύρισκον· τῶν τε γὰρ περὶ τῆς θείας Τριάδος λεγομένων ἦν καὶ αὐτό, περὶ ἃ πάντων ἐπικινδυνότατον σφάλλεσθαι τῇ τε τῶν περὶ τοῦτ᾽ ἀμφισβητούντων μαρτυρίᾳ ὡς οὐ παροπτέον εἴη μάλιστ᾽ ἐβεβαιοῦτο, ἀμφότεροι γὰρ τοῦς μὴ συντιθεμένους οἷς λέγοιεν ταῖς ἀθανάτοις παρεδίδοσαν τιμωρίαις: Mercati, p. 369, ll. 4–9.

[19] ἦν οὐκ ἦν διαλῦσαι μὴ τῆς τῶν ἑκατέρωθεν διανοίας ἀσφαλῶς εὑρημένης Mercati, p. 367, ll. 44–45.

[20] A particularly clear statement of this can be found in Mercati, *Apologia III*, p. 426, l. 37 to p. 427, l. 49. In the *Apologia I* it appears as a less pronounced theme on a number of occasions (for example, Mercati, p. 384, ll. 84–87; p. 398, ll. 29–44).

[21] This is most easily demonstrated in passages where Kydones lists Latin Fathers alongside Greek, naming Hilary, Jerome, Ambrose, Augustine, Leo the Great, and Gregory the Great. See Mercati, p. 382, ll. 35–40; also in Mercati, *Apologia III*, p. 438, ll. 2–5; p. 429, ll. 22–25.

[22] Mercati, p. 383, ll. 61–65; also in Mercati, *Apologia III*, p. 429, ll. 12–22.

Having laid the groundwork in this way by emphasizing that any discussion of the theological differences must be rooted in the core doctrinal material, Kydones then gives his own simple verdict. He has, he says, studied the Fathers of both sides carefully, with respect to their treatment of the *filioque*. This has led him to detect a striking agreement (*symphōnia*) between them; they are of one mind, divided only by language (*tais phōnais*).[23] This Kydones puts down to the common heritage of divine revelation, and to the involvement of the same Spirit inspiring both sides: although, he emphasizes, there is such a physical gulf of land and sea between them, the two sides independently hold to the same theology, which is itself a clear indication of the presence of God with both sides.[24]

This idea of *symphōnia* between Greek and Latin Fathers is central to Kydones's presentation. By appealing to the fundamentals of Christian authoritative sources, he hopes to neutralize the divisive effect of more recent polemic. However, his treatment of recent polemic is far from irenic. As well as reading the Early Fathers, he has, he says, also consulted much more recent works.[25] His verdict on these is of an entirely different order. The Greek theologians he accuses, in the main, of anger and polemic, of an astonishing neglect of the truth, and of incompetence in logical argument.[26] To add insult to injury, he compares them unfavourably with Latin theologians, who, he says deal with the subject far better: their discussion is more Scripturally-based (i.e. much more sound), and they only use other forms of argumentation where they cannot

[23] πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀμφοτέρων εὕρισκον συμφωνίαν [...] ἣν ἀμφοῖν ἡ διάνοια μία ταῖς φωναῖς μόναις διαιρουμένη: Mercati, p. 367, l. 49; p. 368, l. 51.

[24] αἴτιον δὲ ἥ τε τῶν θείων λογίων κοινότης [...] καὶ πρὸ ταύτης τὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας Πνεῦμα [...] παρ' αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐδιδάσκοντο, καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ συμβαίνοντας ἀλλήλοις καὶ τούς λόγους παρείχοντο, καίτοι μηδὲ πώποτ' ἀλλήλοις συμμίξαντες μηδὲ βουλευσάμενοι περὶ ὧν ἔμελλον ἀποφαίνεσθαι, ἅτε τοσαύτῃ γῇ καὶ θαλάττῃ μέσῃ ἀλλήλων εἰργόμενοι· ὡς ἐντεῦθεν φανερὸν γίνεσθαι [...] τὸν πανταχοῦ παρόντα Θεὸν καὶ τούτοις ἀμφοτέροις παρεῖναι καὶ τὰς αὐτῶν γνώμας ἑνοῦντα μίαν ὑπ' ἀμθοῖν ποιεῖν περὶ τῆς ἀληθείας ἐκφέρεσθαι ψῆφον: Mercati, p. 368, ll. 52–60. Kydones's idea of *symphōnia* between two sets of Fathers, Latin and Greek, both to be regarded as authoritative, was to become particularly important at the council of Ferrara-Florence in the fifteenth century, where it was a key factor in reaching agreement. See, for example, Joseph Gill, 'Eleven Emperors of Byzantium Seek Union with the Church of Rome', *Eastern Churches Review*, 9 (1977), 72–84 (p. 82); repr. as Chapter 19 of Joseph Gill, *Collected Studies: Church Union; Rome and Byzantium 1204–1453* (London: Variorum, 1979).

[25] That is, works written in the previous five hundred years. Kydones regards this as being the period intervening since the schism, thus indicating clearly that he dates it from the time of Photios in the ninth century. See Mercati, p. 386, ll. 50–52.

[26] Mercati, p. 387, l. 94 to p. 388, l. 12.

be refuted.[27] Kydones is equally dismissive of his contemporaries, although in their case he focuses more on what he sees as their unwillingness to engage directly and constructively with Latin arguments[28]. Kydones's overall argument thus prioritizes *symphōnia* between revelation and Greek and Latin Fathers over latter-day wrangling, which he characterizes as out of step with the fundamentals of revelation.

What should be noted, however, is that though Kydones clearly accepts that western witness regarding the *filioque* is at least valid (which, indeed, it would be difficult to deny, once Augustine is both read and understood to rank as an authoritative Father), he deliberately tries to avoid outright condemnation of the Byzantine position. He specifically claims that he has never said that the Byzantines are wrong, as such.[29] His complaint is, rather, that they fail to deal properly with Latin theology. He also uses an analogy to explain his own position: he, he says, is like an arms-bearer in the service of a warrior. With his knowledge of Latin theology, he offers this knowledge as weaponry to Greek theologian-warriors, so they can engage directly with the enemy.[30] Throughout the *Apologia I*, he almost exclusively uses the first person plural to refer to the Byzantines, thus identifying himself thoroughly with them. Kydones seeks, despite appearances to the contrary, to place himself on the Byzantine side.

Another area concerning which Kydones writes extensively in the *Apologia I* is that of the position and character of the papacy. In defending the importance of the papacy, he uses a wide variety of approaches, many of which constitute standard expressions of the papacy's self-image.

First, on a theoretical level, Kydones makes much of the importance of monarchy: since the best form of government is that furthest removed from multiplicity (i.e. monarchy), and the Church must have the best form of government, in keeping with its dignity, monarchy is what the Church must have.[31] Second,

[27] ἐδόκουν μοι τοίνυν οἱ ἄνδρες τῶν πραγμάτων περὶ ὧν ὁ λόγος ἐρρωμενέστατον ἅπτεσθαι καὶ μᾶλλον περαίνειν ὃ προύθεντο· αἵ τε γὰρ ἀποδείξεις αὐτοῖς ὥσπερ ἀφ'ἑστίας τῶν ἱερῶν λόγων ὡρμῶντο, καὶ εἴ τι τούτους πρὸς τὸ σαφέστερον ἄγοντες ἐκ τῶν ὄντων προσῆπτον, τῶν σφόδρα δῆλον ἦν καὶ πάντας ἔχον τοὺς ἀκούοντας συγχωροῦντας: Mercati, p. 389, ll. 56–60. Kydones is deliberately countering accusations made against the Latins that they applied inappropriate methodology to discussion of theological matters.

[28] ὅτι μὴ μεγάλην ἀνάγκην τοὺς κατὰ Λατίνων αὐτῶν λόγους ἔχειν φημί, οὐδ' οἵους τοὺς ἄνδρας ἑλεῖν καὶ βιάσασθαι: Mercati, p. 395, ll. 29–30.

[29] Καίτοι ἔγωγε οὐδὲ σαφῶς οὑτωσὶ ψεύδεσθαι τούτους εἶπόν ποτε: Mercati, p. 395, l. 26.

[30] Mercati, p. 395, l. 37 to p. 396, l. 63.

[31] Mercati, p. 377, ll. 59–74.

with regard to the various revealed authorities, a short passage in the *Apologia I* brings into play a range of key motifs relating to pro-papal propaganda.[32] Christ established Peter as head of the apostles, and this headship is handed down to popes in succession; New Testament promises and commands to Peter[33] apply to the pope in relation to the whole Church. Moreover, in this same passage, these specifically Scripturally-based arguments are augmented by reference to other levels of revelation and authority, some of them with particular resonance in Eastern rhetoric: Rome's power and authority, Kydones tells his audience, is confirmed by tradition, by the pronouncements of synods, and by imperial decree.

Two further arguments used by Kydones regarding the papacy bring into play more historical arguments, and a strong emphasis on elements of comparison between Rome and Constantinople. Referring to the fourth-century foundation of Constantinople as Roman capital, Kydones speaks of Rome as the mother-city (*metropolis*) of Constantinople, her colony; and as a colony, Constantinople owes obedience to her metropolis, from which she received all her honour and dignity.[34] Theologically, moreover, Rome alone can guarantee the faith, as promised by Scripture; Rome has never, historically, been condemned for error, as Constantinople has, but has set other sees right when they went astray.[35] Regarding the contemporary condition of the Byzantine Church and patriarchate, again, as with the *filioque*, Kydones is far from irenic, presenting a very negative picture of the situation. The patriarch seeks to please the emperor rather than care for his flock; his position is precarious, subject to imperial

[32] Καὶ οὔπω λέγω τὸν Πέτρον καὶ τὸ πρὸς αὐτὸν μὲν παρὰ τοῦ Σωτῆρος λεχθὲν περὶ τῆς τῶν προβάτων ποιμαντικῆς καὶ τὰς κλεῖς καὶ τὸν τῶν ἀδελφῶν στηριγμὸν, πρὸς δὲ τὸν Ῥώμης ἱερέα ὥσπερ τινὰ κλῆρον τοῦτ' ἀεὶ διαβαῖνον καὶ ποιμένα ποίμενων τὸν ταύτης ἐπὶ καιροῦ προστατοῦντα χειροτονοῦν, σαφῶς γὰρ ὑπ' αὐτὸν εἶναι τὰ ἱερὰ πάντα γένη καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν πᾶσαν δίκην ἔκκλητον γίνεσθαι καὶ πᾶσιν ἀνάγκην εἶναι ταῖς ἐκείνου πείθεσθαι ψήφοις τό τε ἄνωθεν ἔθος καὶ αἱ τῶν συνόδων γνῶμαι καὶ τὰ τῶν βασιλέων δόγματα μαρτυρεῖ, οἷς οὐδ' ἂν αὐτοὶ τολμήσαιμεν λέγειν ὑπεναντία: Mercati, p. 375, ll. 76–83.

[33] The passage clearly alludes John 21. 17 ('feed my sheep'), Matthew 16. 18 (the keys of the kingdom), and Luke 22. 32 (the injunction to 'strengthen the brethren').

[34] Παρ' ἧς (sc. Rome) καὶ βασιλείαν καὶ βουλὴν καὶ τὴν μεγάλην ἐπωνυμίαν ἐδέξατο, κἀκείνη δικαίως ἂν ὥσπερ ἄλλο τι χρέος τὴν ὑπακοὴν ἀποτίνοι ὥσπερ αἱ ἀποικίαι ταῖς μητροπόλεσιν: Mercati, p. 372, ll. 86–88. This model of dependence, as will be seen, can also be a model of fundamental connectedness, and as such is also crucial to Kydones's political understanding of the relationship between East and West.

[35] ἴστε γὰρ οἷα πολλάκις ἡ νέα αὕτη περὶ τὴν πίστιν ἐνεωτέρισεν, κἂν ἀπώλετο παντελῶς κρημνισθεῖσα καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους συγκατασπάσασα εἰ μὴ παρὰ τῆς πρεσβυτέρας [...] ἀνωρθώθη: Mercati, p. 376, ll. 5–7.

whim.[36] This is wholly in contrast to the freedom which the Church should represent.[37] Thus not only does Kydones advance Rome's claims over those of Constantinople, but he also expresses outspoken criticism of the contemporary Byzantine Church.

However, again as in the case of the *filioque*, it would be a mistake to read Kydones's position as one of simple either/or: rejection of Constantinople in favour of Rome. Although he places Rome first, for example, he places Constantinople second (something far from self-evident to many western polemicists), and makes a clear parallel between the authority of Rome and the entitlement of Constantinople to exercise authority and receive all honour and dignity within her own jurisdiction.[38] Elsewhere in his writings, he uses arguments which imply a basic respect for the Greek hierarchy and the validity of its processes.[39] Moreover, Kydones's language in criticising the state of the Greek Church is to some extent simply a necessary result of his emphasis on monarchy: much of it is so phrased in order to emphasize that the Church is subject to what results naturally from the absence of monarchy, i.e. anarchy. The logical corollary of this is that, were the Greek Church to accept the monarchy which is necessary, it would automatically regain all the status and prerogatives it ideally should and does have. To criticize an institution for not fulfilling its ideal role is not to say that that role is no longer of relevance.

This sketch of Kydones's attitude towards the Latin world in general, the *filioque* and the papacy, as presented in the *Apologia I*, is far from exhaustive, certainly in terms of the connections and reasoning employed, but it should give a flavour of his approach. His arguments are, perhaps, unoriginal, and his opinions forthrightly expressed. In some ways, too, what emerges from this presentation is unsurprising, given the categorization of Kydones as 'Catholic convert': his enthusiasm for Latin thought and his explicit acceptance of the

[36] Mercati, p. 373, ll. 27–38.

[37] τοιαύτῃ δουλείᾳ τε καὶ αἰσχύνῃ τὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ νύμφην ἴδοι τις ἂν παρ᾽ ἡμιν ἐκκειμένην, ἧς τὴν παρρησίαν καὶ τὴν διὰ πάντων ἐλευθερίαν ὥσπερ τι σύμβολον εἶναι προσῆκεν: Mercati, p. 374, ll. 39–41.

[38] Mercati, p. 376, l. 33 to p. 377, l. 44.

[39] For example, in the *Apologia IV* Kydones defends the attitude of his brother, Prochoros, to the then disgraced patriarch, Philotheos, on the grounds that for Prochoros to have continued to support Philotheos would have constituted contravention of the decisions of the synod which condemned him (τὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ τῇ συνόδῳ κοινῇ δόξαντᾳ λύειν: Mercati, p. 319, ll. 93–94). This implies that Kydones granted authority to the normal functioning of the hierarchy — at least when it was in accord with his own opinion.

validity of the *filioque* and the authority of the papacy are simply part and parcel of this. However, there are also more complex elements to Kydones's approach, which go beyond technical categorization of his stance. Kydones is dealing with the situation very much from a Byzantine perspective, and in his attempts to reconcile his opinions with his Byzantine identity he produces a fascinating ideological explanation of the relationship between East and West.

That Kydones is particularly concerned to reconcile his opinions with his Byzantine identity is amply demonstrated by an aspect of the *Apologia I* not so far emphasized: what might be called the 'patriotic element'. Elements of this have already been touched on, for example in Kydones's portrayal of himself as 'on the Greek side' in theological matters. However, it is most clearly expressed in the closing passages of the *Apologia I*.[40] Here, Kydones sets loyalty to the homeland (*patris*) alongside commitment to God. He declares, in strong terms, that he holds the *patris* above all things other than God;[41] moreover, that he is prepared to do everything to defend the *patris*, providing this does not require him to neglect what he owes to God, truth, and the soul.[42] It would be hard for any Christian to criticize this order of priorities on principle: God comes first, then the *patris*. Ideally, in any case, God, truth, and homeland should work naturally in harmony. In this, Kydones is implicitly declaring that his religious views, with all their openness to acceptance of western claims, are in no way incompatible with his loyalty as a Byzantine.

It could, however, be suggested that Kydones, in making this claim, is trying to square the circle: to claim true patriotism while at the same time espousing a position incompatible with that patriotism. Leaving aside for the moment the question of whether or not his Byzantine audience could accept this claim, it can at least be said that in the *Apologia I* Kydones does provide his audience with a model by which, if willing to do so, they *could* reconcile his theological views with his avowed patriotism.

[40] Mercati, p. 400, ll. 2–11.

[41] Ἐγὼ δὲ τὴν μὲν πατρίδα πάντων τῶν ἄλλων, μετά γε τὸν Θεόν, τιμιώτατον εἶναι νομίζω καὶ ἁγιώτατον, καὶ τῶν ὁπωσοῦν ἐμοὶ προσηκόντων ταύτην ἄγω προτιμοτέραν ὡς ἂν πάντων ὧν ἔχω καὶ αὐτοῦ δὲ ἐμοῦ, μετά γε τὴν πρώτην ἀρχήν, ὅπερ ἔφην, ἀρχὴν καὶ ἑστίαν· καὶ πολλῶν ἂν δυσχερῶν ἐν αὐτῃ μένων ἥδιον ἀναισχοίμην ἢ παρ᾽ ἄλλοις διατρίβων δεξαίμην τῶν μεγίστων ἡδονῶν ἀπολαύειν: Mercati, p. 400, ll. 2–7.

[42] μέγιστον δὲ Θεὸς καὶ ἀλήθεια, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἡ τούτων ἕνεκα κτισθεῖσα ψυχή. τούτοις οὖν ὃ δίκαιον περισώζων, πρόθυμον ἐμαυτὸν εἰς τἄλλα τῃ πατρίδι διάκονον ὑπισχνοῦμαι παρέξειν: Mercati, p. 400, ll. 11–13.

This model is one of fundamental ecclesiastical unity. In Kydones's presentation, the Greek and Latin Church are the same thing. Some of the ideas of the *Apologia I* already mentioned are designed to demonstrate this: the insistence that East and West share the same revelation and the same doctrine, the avoidance of ideas of 'conversion', or of the Greek Church being wrong. But Kydones also makes this point far more explicitly towards the end of the *Apologia I*. By origin, he says, both sides belonged to the one Church, as citizens of one city.[43] The division between them is akin to a civil war.[44] This analogy, in his presentation, then has certain consequences. A civil war, for Kydones, carries different implications from conventional war: in a civil war, both sides want the common good; ideally they would realize that, and come to work together for the good of the city.[45] On the basis of this analogy, there is no call for Kydones's opponents to regard him as an enemy: he is simply acting as a citizen of the one city, the Church, and acting as he sees best for its good.[46] The crucial point in this is that there is only one entity involved: both sides, while disagreeing, belong together in a wider sense. He has brought the disagreements 'in house', and made the various parties part of the same overall framework.

To summarize: in the *Apologia I*, Kydones not only presents and defends a pro-western stance, which includes acceptance of the validity of specific western ecclesiastical and theological claims, but he does so in a way which enables him to dispense with an aggressive either/or approach. This is in itself of great interest, simply as a set of ideas emanating from the pen of a Byzantine thinker. It demonstrates clearly that the Byzantine sphere could produce ways of thinking open towards the west and able to incorporate it ideologically, even in ecclesiastical matters. However, the case of Kydones also, as suggested earlier, raises deeper questions regarding the nature of Byzantine society.

[43] ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὥσπερ μιᾶς πόλεως ἄμφω τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ὄντες πολῖται [...]: Mercati, p. 401, ll. 43–44.

[44] ὥστε μὴ πολέμῳ, φιλονεικίᾳ δέ τινι μᾶλλον ἢ στάσει τὴν νῦν διαφορὰν ἐοικέναι: Mercati, p. 401, ll. 47–48.

[45] πόλεως δὲ οὕτω νοσούσης οὐ δήπου μερίτας καὶ πολεμίους καθαρῶς τῆς πατρίδος ἀλλήλους οἱ πολῖται νομίζουσιν, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς ἂν ἄμφω μὲν πρὸς τὸ κοινῇ συνοῖσον ὁρῶντες, καὶ λυσιτελέστερα τῇ πόλει λέγειν ἄμφω φιλοτιμούμενοι, μέμφονται μὲν ἀλλήλοις ὧν δὴ καὶ μέμφονται, οὐ μὴν ὥσπερ τοὺς φύσει πολεμίους ἀλλήλοις μισοῦσιν: Mercati, p. 401, ll. 47–52.

[46] ὥστε κἀμὲ πολίτην ὄντα τῆς Ἐκκλησίας καὶ τοῦ κοινοῦ σώματος μέρος οὐδεὶς ἂν δικαίως μισήσειεν, εἰ στάσεως γενομένης τοὺς ἑτέρους, οὓς δικαιότερα καὶ λυσιτελέστερα τῷ κοινῷ πείθομαι λέγειν, τῶν λοιπῶν ἀνθαιροίμην οἰόμενος καὶ τούτοις ἰδίᾳ συνοίσειν ἂν οἷς λέγω πεισθῶσιν. εἰ δὲ τοῦτ᾽ αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἀρέσκει, ἐχθρὸς μὲν οὐδ᾽ οὕτως τοῦ κοινοῦ δικαίως ἂν νομισθείην· πῶς γὰρ ὅς γε τὰ δοκοῦντα συμφέρειν κοινῇ πᾶσιν ἀξιῶ συμβουλεύειν: Mercati, p. 402, ll. 55–56.

The most immediate question arising from Kydones's account is, evidently, how to relate his ideas to the contemporary situation. Were they simply the maverick ideas of an individual, or were at least aspects of them credible to his audience? What weighting should be given to the text of the *Apologia I*?

To answer these questions fully would require extensive discussion of conditions pertaining in the period, as well as questions relating to the text itself and the level of publicity for Kydones's ideas. However, it is possible here to highlight two areas of crucial importance to consideration of the *Apologia I*. One is the potential connection to the political situation: how Kydones's ideas may relate to official policy. The other has to do with the situation of the Byzantines at the time: the highly volatile, highly fragmented nature of the Eastern Mediterranean, which is scarcely likely to have encouraged a simplistic response.

With regard to the first point, it is important to note that Kydones wrote the *Apologia I* around 1363. This places it in an interesting context on two main levels. First, although the level of Kydones's influence at different stages can be difficult to gauge, his political position seems to have been strong at this point, and to the end of the 1360s.[47] The *Apologia I* itself implies this: Kydones repeatedly refers to imperial promotion of his activities, and speaks as if confident of imperial support, at least in general terms.[48] Although this evidently is in part a rhetorical device, aimed at adding additional force to his argument, it is difficult to imagine that Kydones could have dared used it if it were entirely without basis in reality at the time of writing. Second, the date of the *Apologia I* places it in the context of John V's policies in the 1360s. John, from the very beginning of his reign, pursued negotiations with the papacy, inseparable from requests for western aid, and was prepared to go to surprising lengths with regard to acceptance of papal authority; as part of this policy, he journeyed to Hungary in 1366, and to Rome itself in 1369, where, with Kydones at his side, he swore

[47] Letters dating to 1361/2 and 1363 indicate that Kydones at the time enjoyed considerable influence with John V (letters 93 and 31, in the numbering followed in Loenertz's edition: Demetrius Cydones, *Epistolae*, ed. by Raymond-Joseph Loenertz, Studi e testi, 186 and 208, 2 vols (Vatican City: Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, 1956 and 1960). Kydones, moreover, constantly appears in connection with John V's activities throughout the late 1360s, including his journey to Rome, where Kydones was involved in the negotiations.

[48] For example, he describes imperial support of his translation efforts (Mercati, p. 363, ll. 17–29 and says that the emperor (Kantakuzenos, in this case) had copies made of his translations (Mercati, p. 363, ll. 25–27). At other points in the narrative, Kydones speaks of the emperor specifically supporting him against opponents. Although the identity of the emperor is not always clear, the narrative of the *Apologia I* implies that in later passages it is John V who is being referred to.

personal allegiance to the pope.[49] These two aspects of the context at the time of writing of the *Apologia I* throw a rather interesting light on the text. Instead of being simply a fascinating example of how an individual Byzantine thinker could view the relationship between East and West, it becomes the expression of a prominent politician, personally involved in negotiations with the West, and claiming the ear of the emperor.

Given this, it is particularly interesting that Kydones, in the *Apologia I*, develops a model based on the idea of unity of East and West. To this can be added a political parallel, particularly emphasized in another of his works, the *Oratio pro subsidio Latinorum*, dating to 1366.[50] In this text, Kydones presents East and West as belonging together politically. He does this most succinctly by identifying both as Romans: who, he asks, are more natural allies for the Romans than Romans, or who are more trustworthy than those who are fighting for the same *patris*?[51] To understand this, it must be remembered that the term Byzantine is an artificial construct. The people we regard as 'Byzantines' called themselves 'Romans'. Kydones is impressing upon his audience the importance of the natural bonds between themselves and the rest of the 'Roman' world, i.e. the West. They are all Romans; they all share the same *patris*. This complements his idea of fundamental ecclesiastical unity: on both political and ecclesiastical levels, East and West belong together.

What is noteworthy is that this model provides a neat ideological basis for John V's policies in the 1360s: a way of understanding international relationships which provides a morally justifiable background for proceeding with pro-Western policy. Is this a coincidence? Or do Kydones's ideas, in some sense, express government propaganda? This seems quite likely, at least at a basic level. It is not being suggested that the Byzantine government was set on imposing full-blown acceptance of Western claims, but merely that it was concerned to establish a basis upon which openness towards a positive evaluation of cooperation with the west could be validated as a possible option. In other words, elements of Kydones's approach in the *Apologia I* can be seen as intimately connected with the kind of discussion going on at the heart of government. Given that remarkably little is

[49] For information on John's diplomatic ventures, see Halecki, *Un Empereur de Byzance*, passim.

[50] Demetrius Kydones, in Iōannou tou Kantakouzenou ta heuriskomena panta / Joannis Cantacuzeni opera omnia: historica, theologica, apologetica, PG, 153–54, 2 vols (Paris: Migne, 1857 and 1866): PG, 154, cols 961^{A}–1008^{B}.

[51] Τίνες Ῥωμαίοις Ῥωμαίων οἰκειότεροι σύμμαχοι; ἢ τίνες ἀξιοπιστότεροι τῶν τὴν αὐτὴν ἐχόντων πατρίδα: Demetrius Kydones, PG, 154, col. 977^{D}.

known directly about how John V's government tried to present its policies to the population, this gives a particular importance to the text.

However, even if it is accepted that a connection should be made between Kydones's presentation of East–West relations and developments within government at the time, the question remains whether it was in any way *credible* to the Byzantine society of the day. Government propaganda is not necessarily convincing to its intended audience; it does not necessarily persuade. In other words, can the idea of *connection* between East and West be regarded as potentially acceptable in the climate of the time, or was the level of polarization so great that it would automatically be laughed out of court, or at least restricted to a very small minority?

With regard to this, it should be borne in mind that when Kydones wrote the *Apologia I*, the Eastern Mediterranean was undergoing drastic change. This change, driven principally by the evolution of Ottoman power, was taking place in a region already highly complex: a chequerboard of political and ethnic groups and interests, hopelessly intermingled, not always territorially distinct, and with differing degrees of integration and/or conflict. In addition to this, however, there had been a significant shift, certainly by the mid-fourteenth century, in the position of both Byzantines and Latins in the region: a shift from general political confrontation between Latins and Byzantines to more of a tendency to cooperation. This is observable at least from the 1330s.[52] In the circumstances, it is perfectly possible that sizeable portions of Byzantine society were also searching for workable new models for understanding their relationship to the various powers around them, without automatically rejecting options which in the past, in different contexts, might have seemed unworkable. In other words, it is not safe to assume that anti-Western rhetoric had an overwhelming force; the option presented by Kydones — that of connection between Latins and Byzantines, with a corresponding tendency to relegate the importance of dispute, ecclesiastical, or otherwise — may have been a perfectly viable one in the circumstances.

John V's journey to Rome, and submission to the pope, in 1369, seems to support this idea, at least as regards the 1360s. John seems to have been able to take the highly public step of submission to the papacy without being hopelessly undermined in Byzantine eyes. How could this be? Perhaps the reason is that Kydones's ideological treatment of the relationship between Byzantines and Latins was sufficiently credible to much of the population that it could provide

[52] When a naval league was formed against the Turks, which took the unusual step of including the Byzantines. See Angeliki E. Laiou, 'Marino Sanudo Torsello, Byzantium and the Turks: The Background to the Anti-Turkish League of 1332–1334', *Speculum*, 45 (1970), 374–92.

sufficient justification for John's actions. That is, perhaps the idea of *connection* between Latins and Greeks was a persuasive model — a model as capable of application to the situation as the alternative model based on cultural, political, and religious polarization.

What is being suggested is not that Kydones's ideas in their entirety were followed by a substantial proportion of the Byzantine population. His explicit unconditional acceptance of western claims was unusual, and places him on one extreme end of the spectrum of opinion in Byzantium. Rather, what is being suggested is that the conditions of this period meant that it was almost inevitable that there would be wide spectrum of opinion in Byzantium, as different groups responded in different ways to a highly complex situation. But the various groups still belong within the same spectrum; they can still claim to be important to understanding Byzantine society. This is true of Kydones's overt religious stance; but it is even more true of his far less controversial model of connection between East and West, despite differences. There is no need to think that groups at odds with Kydones because of his radical religious approach would necessarily have been at odds with this as a basic concept. Rather, his basic concept can be seen as a model of use to many interest-groups active in Byzantium at the time, on different levels. There is certainly no need to assume that the model of polarization had precedence, except where evidence supports that case; where evidence suggests more of a sense of openness to the West, that evidence should be given equal attention.

Part III

Western Confrontation with Islam and Judaism in Iberia and the East

Mamluks and Crusaders: Architectural Appropriation and Cultural Encounter in Mamluk Monuments

Karen Rose Mathews

The Mamluk dynasty came to power in a time of great political turmoil in the Islamic world. They were able to seize and consolidate power on the basis of their military prowess and their dedication to jihad. In the early period of the Mamluk dynasty, these former military slaves embarked upon a set of political and military initiatives against the Western European Crusaders and settlers (the Franks), in the Levant. Textual sources from this period established the theoretical terms of their conflict, exhorting the Mamluk troops to engage in a holy war to defeat the unbelievers and conquer territory in the name of Islam. The Frankish presence was considered a particular affront to Islam, as it reminded Muslims of the humiliating defeats they suffered at Christian hands in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries.[1]

The military and cultural interaction with the Franks was also expressed in visual terms, in the architectural patronage of Mamluk rulers. Appropriated objects, or *spolia*, from Christian structures adorn numerous buildings created by the Mamluk elite in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.[2] The use of

[1] Donald Little, 'The Fall of 'Akka in 690/1291: The Muslim Version', in *Studies in Islamic History and Civilization in Honour of Professor David Ayalon*, ed. by M. Sharon (Jerusalem: Cana, 1986), pp. 159–81 (p. 181), refers to the rejoicing by Muslims at the fall of the city of Acre, which 'signified the end of humiliation for Islam, which had begun, for them, two hundred years earlier'.

[2] For the use of Frankish *spolia* in Mamluk architecture in general, Oleg Grabar, 'The Crusades and the Development of Islamic Art', in *The Crusades from the Perspective of*

Languages of Love and Hate: Conflict, Communication, and Identity in the Medieval Mediterranean, ed. by Sarah Lambert and Helen Nicholson, International Medieval Research, 15 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), 177–200 BREPOLS PUBLISHERS 10.1484/M.IMR-EB.1.101136

Christian *spolia* in Mamluk buildings presents a perspective on Mamluk-Frankish interaction that diverged in some cases from the hostile and unflattering image of the Franks presented in literary works. These visual representations display an admiration for Frankish craftsmanship and a more accommodating view of Christian cultural products. It will be argued here that different visual and textual languages were employed in the representation of Frankish adversaries in the Mamluk period. At times visual and textual representations complemented and supported one another, and at other times they were diametrically opposed. It is the shifting and fluid relationship between these visual and textual language systems that will be explored in detail in this paper.

The European crusading movement was a significant religious and political phenomenon throughout the medieval period, but its effectiveness had diminished markedly after the early Crusader successes of the late eleventh and twelfth centuries.[3] Crusading zeal continued unabated, but it became increasingly difficult to raise the funds and manpower necessary to pose a significant threat to Muslim forces in the Levant. However, in the second half of the thirteenth century, Frankish forces still held castles and fortified cities along the Syrian coast, and clung tenaciously to the small strip of coastline they controlled.

The determination with which the Mamluks set out to eliminate Frankish landholdings appears puzzling at first, but the targeting of the Franks can be understood in a variety of ways. The Mamluks seized the sultanate as the result

Byzantium and the Muslim World, ed. by Angeliki Laiou and Roy Mottahedeh (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 2001), pp. 235–45 (p. 238); Zehava Jacoby, 'Crusader Sculpture in Cairo: Additional Evidence of the Temple Area Workshop in Jerusalem', in *Crusader Art in the Twelfth Century*, ed. by Jaroslav Folda (Oxford: British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem, 1982), pp. 121–38; Viktoria Meinecke-Berg, 'Spolien in der mittelalterlichen Architektur von Kairo', in *Ägypten: Dauer und Wandel* (Mainz: von Zabern, 1985), pp. 131–42.

[3] The literature on the Crusades is vast, and dozens of new publications appear every year. For some recent works on this topic, see *The Oxford History of the Crusades* (repr. of *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Crusades*), ed. by Jonathan Riley-Smith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995; repr. 1999, 2002); Jean Richard, *The Crusades, c. 1071–c. 1291* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); *Crusades: The Illustrated History*, ed. by Thomas Madden (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004); Thomas Madden, *The New Concise History of the Crusades* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2005); Carole Hillenbrand, *The Crusades: Islamic Perspectives* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999); *The Crusades from the Perspective of Byzantium and the Muslim World*, ed. by Angeliki Laiou and Roy Mottahedeh (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 2001). For the limited effectiveness of later Crusades, see John France, *The Crusades and the Expansion of Catholic Christendom, 1000–1714* (London: Routledge, 2005), who notes that 'the fall of Acre in 1291 did not give anything like the impulse to crusading which the loss of Jerusalem had produced in 1187' (p. 335).

of a bloody coup and their hold on power in the early years of the dynasty was tenuous.[4] As former slave soldiers of the Ayyubids, their strength lay in their military prowess, and it was through important military victories that these warriors sought to establish political legitimacy.[5] It was believed that the Frankish principalities needed to be eliminated in order to prevent additional waves of crusading armies from landing in Syria.[6] In addition, the Mamluk defeat of the Mongols at Ain Jalut in 1260 allowed them to turn their attention to the dismantling of Frankish strongholds in the Levant in hopes of subverting a potential Mongol-European alliance.[7]

As a result of these political concerns, a two-pronged strategy was employed that combined a Mamluk military counter-crusade, also referred to as a jihad, and propagandistic and panegyric literature composed by the Muslim scholarly elite or *ʿulama*.[8] Propagandistic sermons incited the populace and Mamluk warrior class to battle and described military victories in grandiloquent terms, emphasizing the ruler's military prowess, justice, and defense of Islam.[9] These military conquests also enhanced the reputation and authority of the religious

[4] See Robert Irwin, *The Middle East in the Middle Ages: The Early Mamluk Sultanate, 1250–1382* (London: Croom Helm, 1986), pp. 21–22, for the assassination of the last Ayyubid sultan by the Bahri Mamluks; p. 34 for the murder of Qutuz from whom Baybars seized the sultanate; and pp. 42–44 for the legitimacy of Baybars's rule.

[5] Irwin, *The Middle East in the Middle Ages*, p. 44.

[6] Linda Northrup, *From Slave to Sultan: The Career of al-Mansur Qalawun and the Consolidation of Mamluk Rule in Egypt and Syria (678–689 AH /1279–1290 AD)* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 1998), p. 128; P. M. Holt, *Early Mamluk Diplomacy (1260–1290): Treaties of Baybars and Qalawun with Christian Rulers* (Leiden: Brill, 1995), p. 12.

[7] Linda Northrup, 'The Bahri Mamluk Sultanate, 1250–1390', in *The Cambridge History of Egypt*, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 1: *Islamic Egypt, 640–1517*, ed. by Carl Petry, pp. 242–89 (p. 275). It has been argued that the persistence of the Mongol threat made it necessary to eliminate the Frankish presence; see Irwin, *The Middle East in the Middle Ages*, p. 47. Reuven Amitai-Preiss, 'Mamluk Perceptions of the Mongol-Frankish Rapprochement', *Mediterranean Historical Review*, 7 (1992), 50–65, notes that the Ilkhans Hülegü, Ghazan, and Öljeytü all sent missions to the west to encourage an alliance. He also indicates that the Ilkhans were much more interested in alliances with European powers than with the Franks of the Levant. See also Northrup, *From Slave to Sultan*, p. 100; Irwin, *The Middle East in the Middle Ages*, p. 47; R. Stephen Humphreys, 'Ayyubids, Mamluks, and the Latin East in the Thirteenth Century', *Mamluk Studies Review*, 2 (1998), 1–17 (p. 16).

[8] Hillenbrand discusses this topic in detail, and notes, p. 238, that the call to jihad was a way to align the interests of the Mamluk rulers and the religious elite.

[9] See P. M. Holt, 'The Virtuous Ruler in Thirteenth-Century Mamluk Royal Biographies', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 24 (1980), 27–35, for the significance of these qualities.

officials who wrote the texts and played a significant role as mediators between the Mamluk rulers and the general populace.

Texts describing victories against the Franks (*Ifranj* in Arabic) abounded in highly charged rhetoric, particularly in the time of the ruler Baybars I (r. 1260–77). Baybars was represented as a *mujāhid*, or leader of jihad, par excellence. As a general he led the Mamluk army to victory against the Mongols at Ain Jalut, and engaged in frequent successful military campaigns against Frankish strongholds and cities that culminated in the conquest of the city of Antioch in 1268.[10] Numerous Muslim authors throughout the Mamluk period made reference to Sultan Baybars's military prowess, and couched his victories against both Franks and Mongols in ideological terms.[11]

Religion, as one might imagine, was a significant marker of difference, and Baybars's biographers emphasized the religious overtones of the battles with the Franks.[12] They were referred to as 'infidels' and the ongoing battle with them was a jihad. Honorific inscriptions on public monuments throughout the Mamluk Empire and newly conquered territories referred to him as: 'lord of kings and sultans, conqueror of great cities, exterminator of Franks and Tatars [and] extirpator of citadels from the infidels [...].'[13] An inscription on the Citadel of Safad noted Baybars's embellishment of the citadel after it had been delivered from the hands of the 'accursed Franks'; other public texts praised his efforts as he 'struggled until he exchanged unbelief for faith, church bell for the call

[10] Syedah Fatima Sadeque, *Baybars I of Egypt* (Dacca: Oxford University Press, 1956), p. 58; Peter Thorau, *The Lion of Egypt: Sultan Baybars I and the Near East in the Thirteenth Century* (London: Longman, 1987), pp. 190–92; Irwin, *The Middle East in the Middle Ages*, p. 48.

[11] P. M. Holt, 'Three Biographies of al-Zahir Baybars', in *Medieval Historical Writing in the Christian and Islamic Worlds*, ed. by David Morgan (London: University of London, 1982), pp. 19–29; Holt, 'The Virtuous Ruler', p. 28. For more ambivalent attitudes expressed about Baybars in later Mamluk historical writing, see Amina Elbendary, 'The Sultan, the Tyrant, and the Hero: Changing Medieval Perceptions of al-Zahir Baybars', *Mamluk Studies Review*, 5 (2001), 141–57 (pp. 149, 156).

[12] Steven Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, 3 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951–54), III, 348, writes that death of Baybars removed the 'greatest enemy to Christendom since Saladin'. Baybars's biographer, Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir, describes early battles against Louis IX, Armenians, and other Christian and Mongol enemies in religious terms; see Sadeque, *Baybars I of Egypt*, pp. 79, 130, 209.

[13] Jonathan Bloom, 'The Mosque of Baybars al-Bunduqdari in Cairo', *Annales Islamologiques*, 17 (1982), 45–78 (p. 76); see also *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe*, ed. by Étienne Combe and others (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1943), XII, no. 4612, pp. 141–43.

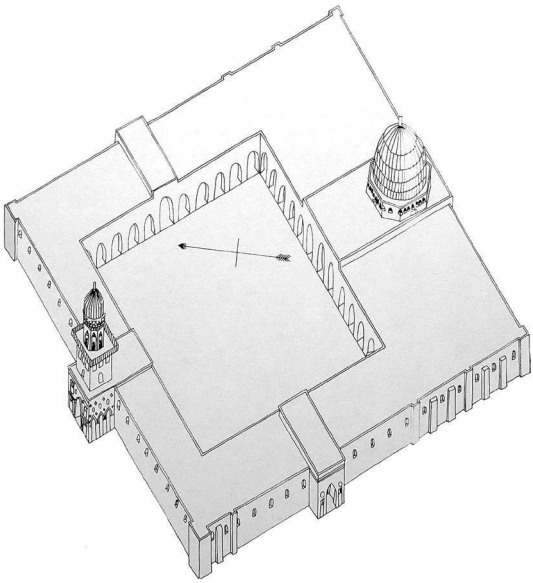

Figure 1. Mosque of al-Zahir Baybars, axonometric view, Cairo. 1266–69 (photo: Jonathan Bloom).

to prayer, and the gospel for the Qurʾan'.[14] Biographers of Baybars continued this theme; he was lauded for prosecuting jihad with great zeal and fighting 'until no more Franks remain[ed] on the surface of the earth'.[15]

These textual references display a strongly antagonistic attitude towards the Christian Crusading forces in the Levant, a consistent emphasis on the Franks as an adversary to be eliminated, and the struggle with them as a jihad. In reality, however, Baybars actually entered into a number of peaceful agreements with Frankish territories during his reign.[16] When the Mongol threat remained high, it was politically prudent to maintain peaceful relations with the Franks. Only after the Mamluks succeeded in holding the Mongols at bay in Syria did Baybars and his successors undertake a more aggressive policy against Crusader states. Though the textual sources present an image of unrelenting jihad against the Franks, the political realities of the time were far more nuanced and displayed a high level of accommodation towards the Mamluks' Frankish neighbours.

The visual counterpart of this textual propaganda can be found in the earliest extant royal mosque of the Mamluk period, the Mosque of al-Zahir Baybars. Baybars's mosque, built between 1266 and 1269, is the first Mamluk monument to employ Frankish *spolia*, or appropriated Christian building materials (see fig. 1

[14] Bloom, 'Mosque of Baybars', p. 74; Hillenbrand, *The Crusades*, p. 231.

[15] Hillenbrand, *The Crusades*, p. 237. See also Sadeque, *Baybars I of Egypt*, pp. 77, 130, for statements concerning jihad in Ibn ʿAbd al-Ẓāhir's biography of Baybars, al-*Rawḍ al-Ẓāhir fī Sīrat al-Malik al-Ẓāhir*.

[16] Bloom, 'Mosque of Baybars', pp. 73–74. See Sadeque, *Baybars I of Egypt*, pp. 48, 58–60, 62, and Holt, 'The Virtuous Ruler', pp. 32–57, for Baybars's agreements with the Franks.

Figure 2. Mosque of al-Zahir Baybars, aerial view of mosque, Cairo. 1266–69 (photo: Bernard O'Kane).

and fig. 2).[17] Though little of the interior space remains, textual evidence provides some indication of its appearance in the Mamluk period.

According to the writer al-Maqrizi, building materials for the mosque were taken from Frankish structures in the Levant.[18] The Mamluks conquered the city of Jaffa in 1268, and systematically plundered the site. Al-Maqrizi recounts that Baybars ordered that wood from the conquered city be used to construct the *maqsura*, or dome, of the mosque and plundered marble was to adorn the mosque's *mihrab* or prayer niche.[19]

[17] For a detailed analysis of Baybars's mosque, see Bloom, 'Mosque of Baybars'.

[18] Michael Meinecke, *Die Mamlukische Architektur in Ägypten und Syrien (648/1250 bis 923/1517)*, 2 vols (Glückstadt: Augustin, 1992), II, 26; Doris Behrens-Abouseif, *Islamic Architecture in Cairo: An Introduction* (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 1989), p. 94; Michael Meinecke, 'Das Mausoleum des Qalaʾun in Kairo: Untersuchungen zur Genese der mamlukischen Architekturdekoration', *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo*, 27/1 (1971), 47–80 (pp. 59–60), suggests that Syrian craftsmen were brought to Cairo along with the marble, as there was no indigenous stone working tradition in the city.

[19] Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-mawāʿiẓ wa-al-iʿtibār: bi-dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa-al-*

In this early Mamluk mosque, spoils of war from a Christian citadel were reemployed in the most symbolic areas of the structure: the dome and the *mihrab*. One can sense here a strong triumphalist message in the appropriation of Frankish building materials. [20] Like the transfer of ownership of important fortresses and the substitution of the call to prayer for the church bell, building materials were redefined in their secondary contexts, symbolizing the acquisition of the enemy's strength.[21] The removal of these materials left a scar of absence on the conquered city and, in essence, disgraced the defeated culture.[22] These spoils were thus victory trophies underlining the overwhelming and irrevocable nature of the Mamluks' triumph over the Christians.[23]

Thus, the textual and visual languages used to construct a Frankish identity in Baybars's time were in accord. Baybars was the prototypical *mujāhid* and the hero of the folk epic *Sīrat al-Ẓāhir Baybars*, in which his main adversary was a wily and deceptive Frank.[24] His legitimacy as a ruler rested predominantly on his success in campaigns against infidel enemies, both Mongols and Franks; it was a significant part of the political identity formation of this dynasty, which began tumultuously with the assassinations of the Mamluks' former masters and early rivals.

The use of Christian *spolia* in Baybars's mosque also appears to make statements of military and religious superiority. The Christian building materials reused in this mosque do not appear to have been particularly notable except for the fact that they came from the Citadel of Jaffa. They could be characterized as having a low symbolic charge, as the pieces themselves were not paramount; rather it was their provenance that gave them meaning. This appropriation might

āthār, al-maʿrūf bi-al-khiṭaṭ al-Maqrīziyah, taʾlīf Taqī al-Dīn Abī al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Maqrīzī, 2 vols (Baghdad: Maktabat al-Muthanna, 1970), II, 300; K. A .C. Creswell, *The Muslim Architecture of Egypt*, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952–59), II, 155; Sadeque, *Baybars I of Egypt*, p. 73; Bloom, 'Mosque of Baybars', p. 54.

[20] Bloom, 'Mosque of Baybars', p. 73, notes that Baybars's appropriation of building materials from Jaffa was not an isolated incident. When Baybars conquered the city of Aleppo from the Mongols, he removed the iron plates and nails from a gate and took them to Damascus and Cairo.

[21] Beat Brenk, 'Spolia from Constantine to Charlemagne: Aesthetics Versus Ideology', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*, 41 (1987), 103–09 (p. 103); Finbarr Flood, *The Great Mosque of Damascus: Studies on the Makings of an Umayyad Visual Culture* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), pp. 202–03, 226.

[22] Dale Kinney, 'Spolia: Damnatio and Renovatio Memoriae', *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, 42 (1997), 117–48 (p. 122).

[23] Bloom, 'Mosque of Baybars', pp. 72–74.

[24] See Amina Elbendary, 'Sultan, Tyrant, and Hero', pp. 153–54, for the crafty Christian monk Juwan.

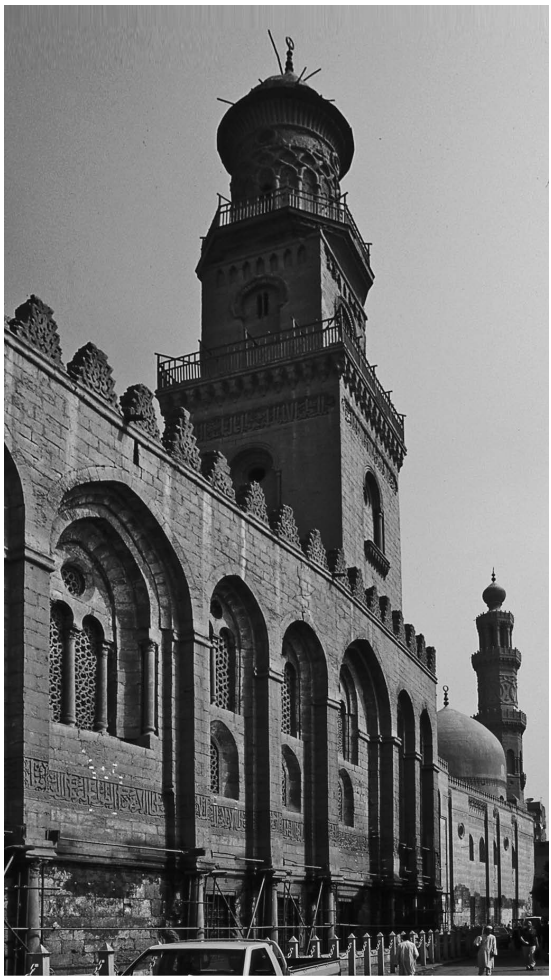

Figure 3. Complex of al-Mansur Qalawun, exterior street façade, Cairo. 1284–85 (photo: author).

also have been the result of sheer pragmatism displayed by Mamluk rulers; good quality marble and wood were always valuable commodities, and the conquest of foreign cities provided the opportunity to stockpile these materials.[25]

The ruler Qalawun (r. 1279–90), who ushered in the period of the greatest prosperity and security in the Mamluk Empire, was also an avid user of *spolia*. He employed Christian building materials on his funerary complex, built between 1284 and 1285 and located along Bayn al-Qasrayn, or the main thoroughfare of medieval Cairo (see fig. 3).[26]

[25] This issue of pragmatism is one that is mentioned often in the analysis of reused building materials. See Viktoria Meinecke-Berg, 'Die Verwendung von Spolien in der mamlukischen Architektur von Kairo', in *xx. Deutscher Orientalistentag: Vorträge*, ed. by W. Voigt (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1980), pp. 530–32 (p. 530); Meinecke-Berg, 'Spolien', pp. 139, 142. See also Bloom, 'Mosque of Baybars', p. 55, for the practical aspects of Baybars's reuse of stone and wood from Jaffa. Little, 'Fall of ʿAkka', pp. 177–78, notes that in addition to the famous church portal, enormous quantities of marble were taken from Acre as well as the city of Tyre after the Mamluk conquest. This stockpiling might indicate a more pragmatic motive for salvaging precious building materials.

[26] For the funerary complex in general, see Michael Meinecke, 'Mausoleum des Qalaʾun', pp. 47–80; Behrens-Abouseif, *Islamic Architecture in Cairo*, pp. 95–100.

Figure 4. Complex of al-Mansur Qalawun, detail, window grille, Cairo. 1284–85 (photo: Kara Hill, 1989. Courtesy of the Aga Khan Visual Archive, Massachusetts Institute of Technology).

A prominent example of Christian *spolia* is found at the entrance portal to this complex. Clearly visible from the street, the window above the doorway displays an iron grille consisting of spiral forms (see fig. 4).[27] Creswell has argued that this window grille was a Frankish spoil that must have been taken as loot during Qalawun's Syrian military campaigns.[28] Qalawun's use of Frankish *spolia* is thus the earliest visually identifiable example of such appropriation, as we only have textual sources attesting to the use of spoils in al-Zahir Baybars's mosque.

Qalawun also displayed a predilection for Frankish-style decoration.[29] The window grille mentioned above was an actual spoil, but Sultan Qalawun also employed a particular window type on the façade of his mausoleum complex that was reminiscent of Gothic architecture (see fig. 5).[30] The window consists of two lancets surmounted by a bull's eye with-

[27] Meinecke-Berg, 'Spolien', p. 133, n. 18.

[28] Creswell, *The Muslim Architecture of Egypt*, II, 191. Creswell also notes that this window grille resembles the iron screen that surrounded the Dome of the Rock when it was transformed in the twelfth century into the Christian 'Templum Domini'.

[29] This borrowing of forms and/or styles from another culture is often referred to as *pseudo-spolia* or virtual *spolia*. Richard Brilliant, 'I piedistalli del giardino di Boboli: Spolia in se, spolia in re', *Prospettiva,* 31 (October 1982), 2–17 (pp. 12–14), has coined the terms 'spolia in se' and 'spolia in re' to differentiate between actual and virtual *spolia*.

[30] This form not only appears on Qalawun's funerary complex, but also on other monuments commissioned by him (the mausoleum of his wife Umm al-Salih and his son al-Ashraf

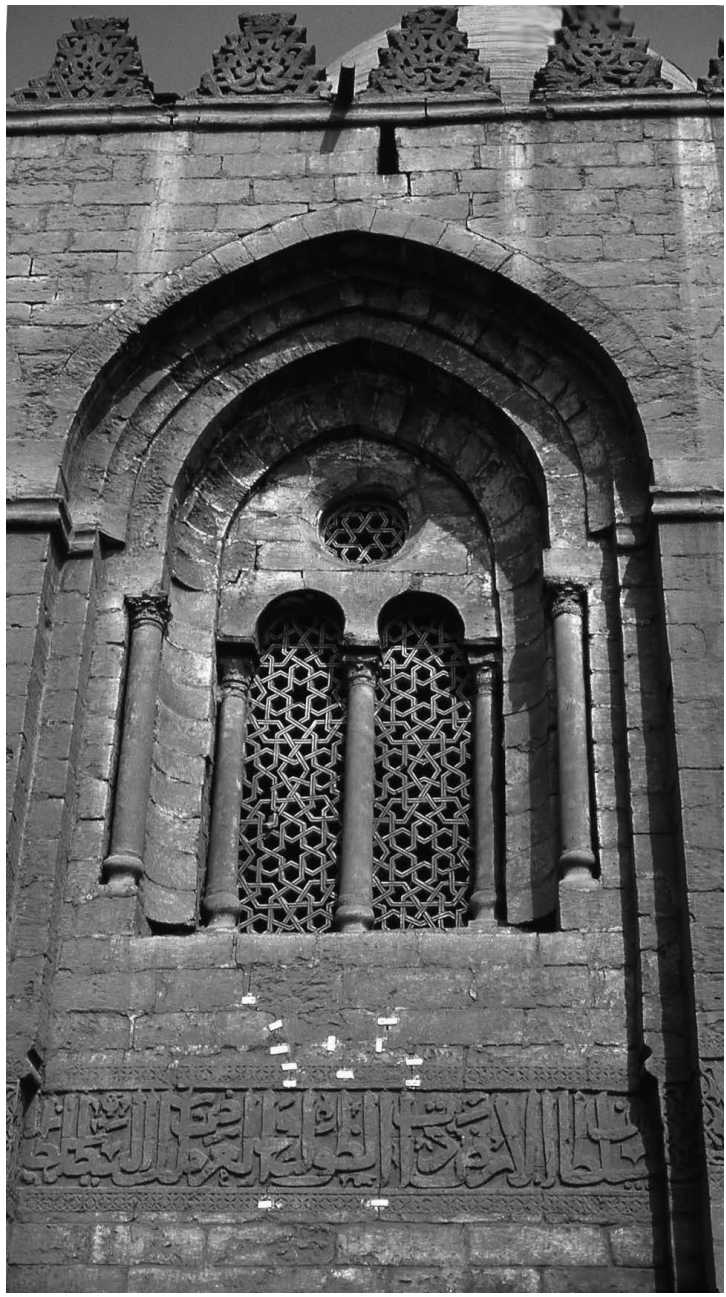

Figure 5. Complex of al-Mansur Qalawun, window on exterior street façade, Cairo. 1284–85 (photo: author).

Figure 6. Crac des Chevaliers, refectory façade, windows, Al-Hosn, Syrian Arab Republic. Mid-thirteenth century (photo: Robert Ousterhout).

in an arch, and similar window forms were found on thirteenth-century French architecture in general, and Frankish structures in the Levant in particular.[31] The fortress of Crac des Chevaliers, for example, displays an analogous window form on the wall of the refectory facing the inner courtyard (see fig. 6).[32] The Mamluks

Khalil) and by other Mamluk sultans and amirs. In his discussion of the Tomb of Umm al-Salih, Creswell, *The Muslim Architecture of Egypt*, II, 182, n. 3, mentions five other buildings that employ this form: the Mausoleum of al-Ashraf Khalil (1288), the mīḍaʾa in the ṣaḥn of Ibn Tulun (1296), the Mausoleum of al-Nasir Muhammad (1303–04), the Mausoleum of Sunqur Saʿdi (1315–21), and the Mosque of Ulmas (1329–30).

[31] Behrens-Abouseif, *Islamic Architecture in Cairo*, p. 97; Creswell, *The Muslim Architecture of Egypt*, II, 198–201. Elsewhere Doris Behrens-Abouseif, 'Sicily, the Missing Link in the Evolution of Cairene Architecture', in *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid: Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras*, ed. by U. Vermeulen and D. de Smet (Leuven: Peeters, 1995), pp. 285–312 (pp. 292–94), has argued that this decorative motif might have its prototype in Sicilian architecture. Creswell, *The Muslim Architecture of Egypt*, II, 201, has made a similar observation, but neither has established a mechanism for the transmission of this style from Sicily to Mamluk Egypt.

[32] Creswell, *The Muslim Architecture of Egypt*, II, 200, mentions the gallery at the fortress of Crac des Chevaliers as one of several possible prototypes. For the gallery façade at Crac des Chevaliers, see Paul Deschamps, *Les Châteaux des Croisés en Terre Sainte, Le Crac des Chevaliers*

seized the fortress from the Hospitallers in 1271; therefore the window form would have been familiar to the Mamluks because they actually possessed the fortress for over a decade before the inception of Qalawun's building project.[33]

The interior of Qalawun's madrasa also displayed artistic forms borrowed from Christian monuments. Scholars have noted that the layout of the madrasa's prayer hall closely resembled Syrian church forms (see fig. 7). The wider central nave flanked by two smaller side aisles is a composition characteristic of basilica-plan churches from this region.[34] This was a highly unusual arrangement for Mamluk mosques, as most others adopted a hypostyle or *iwan* plan.[35] Thus, Christian architectural forms adorned both the interior and exterior of multiple buildings within Qalawun's funerary complex.[36]

Like Baybars, Qalawun had a strong record of military victories against the Crusaders.[37] Descriptions of Qalawun's life and military exploits resemble those

(Paris: Geuthner, 1934), pp. 215–18. Deschamps argues, on the basis of similarities in style with the Sainte-Chapelle in Paris, that this structure must have been built after 1248. He also notes that the gallery was attached to a secular structure, probably a large reception hall.

[33] Francesco Gabrieli, *Arab Historians of the Crusades*, trans. by E. J. Costello (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), p. 319, quoting al-ʿAini, whose authority was Ibn Kathir. For the potential of Islamic architects studying Gothic buildings, see Lucy-Anne Hunt, 'Churches of Old Cairo and Mosques of al-Qahira: A Case of Christian-Muslim Interchange', in *Byzantium, Eastern Christendom and Islam: Art at the Crossroads of the Medieval Mediterranean*, 2 vols (London: Pindar, 1998–2000) I, 319–42 (p. 341). In a further act of appropriation, Baybars's son, al-Malik al-Saʿid, converted the church within the fortress into a mosque after the Mamluks took possession of the site.

[34] Creswell, *The Muslim Architecture of Egypt*, II, 196; Behrens-Abouseif, *Islamic Architecture in Cairo*, p. 98; Behrens-Abouseif, 'Sicily', p. 294.

[35] Behrens-Abouseif, 'Sicily', p. 294, notes that only the Madrasa of Barquq emulates the arrangement of the prayer hall in Qalawun's madrasa.

[36] Grabar, 'The Crusades', pp. 238–39, mentions another potential pseudo-spoil associated with Qalawun's tomb complex: the wooden screen around the actual cenotaphs within the mausoleum itself. Grabar and Finbarr Flood, 'Umayyad Survivals and Mamluk Revivals: Qalawunid Architecture and the Great Mosque of Damascus', *Muqarnas*, 14 (1997), 57–79 (pp. 62, nn. 30, 64, 74), note the similarity between the form of the tomb of Qalawun and the Dome of the Rock. However, Grabar argues that the wooden screen is an emulation of the metal grille that the Franks erected around the rock in the Dome of the Rock. According to Behrens-Abouseif, *Islamic Architecture in Cairo*, p. 98, and Sheila Blair and Jonathan Bloom, *The Art and Architecture of Islam 1250–1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), p. 74, the wooden screen in the tomb was actually commissioned and put into place by Qalawun's son, al-Nasir Muhammad, in 1303–04, at the time his madrasa next door was being constructed.

[37] Northrup, *From Slave to Sultan*, p. 130.

Figure 7. Complex of al-Mansur Qalawun, madrasa prayer hall, Cairo. 1284–85 (photo: Kara Hill, 1989. Courtesy of the Aga Khan Visual Archive, Massachusetts Institute of Technology).

of Baybars, as he is accorded similar titles and accolades for his piety and zeal in prosecuting jihad.[38] Qalawun also followed his venerable predecessor Baybars in undertaking offensives against the Franks. In a campaign that he had intended to lead, his son al-Ashraf Khalil dealt the death blow to the Frankish presence in the Levant with the conquest of Acre in 1291. During his reign, jihad rhetoric ran high, and the scholarly elite produced historical writings and exhortatory sermons similar to those of Baybars's time.[39] Qalawun was an effective and feared holy warrior and he adhered to the ideal of rulership established by the literary class.

However, studies of Sultan Qalawun's relationship with his Frankish neighbours in the early years of his reign have demonstrated that he was more likely to conclude peace treaties with cities and principalities under Frankish control than attack their cities and fortresses.[40] Qalawun

[38] This genre of royal biography was a conservative one, and Holt, 'The Virtuous Ruler', has noted the similarities that exist between biographies of Mamluks rulers and their Ayyubid predecessors. Hillenbrand, *The Crusades*, p. 230, n. 114, refers to an inscription associated with Qalawun whose text is strongly reminiscent of one of Baybars's monumental inscriptions.

[39] Hillenbrand, *The Crusades*, pp. 240–50.

[40] Holt in 'The Virtuous Ruler', lists eight treaties between Qalawun and various Christian rulers, and three treaties between the Franks and the Sultan Baybars. Linda Northrup, *From Slave to Sultan*, pp. 103–04, 130, argues that from 1281–85 there appears have been a greater emphasis on establishing truces with Frankish territories; a more militant approach characterized the later years of Qalawun's reign, even though he continued to enter into peaceful agreements with Christian rulers throughout his rule.

Jaroslav Folda, *Crusader Art in the Holy Land, from the Third Crusade to the Fall of Acre,*

negotiated several treaties with a variety of Christian rulers and corporate groups: the Templars, the king of Armenia, the Byzantine Emperor, the lords and ladies of Tripoli and Tyre, and the king of Aragón.

He also entered into treaties with Italian commercial powers like Venice and Genoa.[41] The Genoese were particularly important as participants in the importation of slaves from Central Asia; in essence they provided the manpower that ran the Mamluk state, and cordial relations with them were paramount for the Mamluks.[42] Commercial relations in general were strong between the Mamluks and Crusader states, particularly as they related to the city of Acre.[43] The concluding of agreements with Christian rulers and leaders in order to secure peace in the Levant was thus a significant foreign policy initiative for the Mamluks. This more moderate attitude towards Christians is echoed in the prominent use of Christian *spolia* and copies of *spolia* on Qalawun's impressive and highly visible funerary complex.

Thus, a discrepancy existed between propagandistic literature promoting jihad and the actual political objectives of the sultan Qalawun. In addition, a similar disjunction can be detected between the strident and negative tone of jihad literature and the more moderate view of Christian culture provided in

1187–1291 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 486, notes that the Franks in Acre did not foresee the attack on their city; they were thinking of recent truces with Mamluks and assumed that they could stall a military offensive with another treaty. James M. Powell, 'The Fifth Crusade to 1291: The Loss of the Holy Land', in *Crusades: The Illustrated History*, ed. by Thomas Madden (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004), pp. 144–71 (p. 171), discusses the fact that the residents of Acre had good reason to believe that Qalawun would not attack them, as Baybars did not take the city during his Syrian campaigns.

In a magnanimous gesture towards the Christians, Qalawun included in his treaty with Acre of 1283 stipulations for the protection of the church at Nazareth, so that pilgrims could continue to visit the site and priests and friars could perform their religious duties undisturbed; see Gabrieli, 'Arab Historians of the Crusades', pp. 326–31, for a text of the treaty.

[41] Northrup, *From Slave to Sultan*, p. 156. See also Carl Petry, 'Holy War, Unholy Peace? Relations between the Mamluk Sultanate and European States prior to the Ottoman Conquest', in *The Jihad and its Times, Dedicated to Andrew Stefan Ehrenkreutz*, ed. by Hadia Dajani-Shakeel and Ronald Messier (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Center for Near Eastern and North African Studies, 1991), pp. 95–112 (pp. 97–99).

[42] Northrup, *From Slave to Sultan*, p. 157, addresses the significance of the slave trade for Qalawun; see also Irwin, *The Middle East in the Middle Ages*, p. 52.

[43] See Northrup, *From Slave to Sultan*, p. 104, for trading relations with the Italians, and p. 130 for the commercial significance of Marqab. She also notes, pp. 156–57, the economic significance of Acre for the Mamluks.

Qalawun's architectural commissions. Qalawun employed Frankish *spolia* and copies of *spolia* in highly visible areas of his monumental tomb complex along Bayn al-Qasrayn. This extensive use of Christian materials and styles signalled a high level of appreciation for Frankish artwork and reflected Qalawun's conciliatory relationship with the Christian states of the Levant in the early years of his reign, precisely when the funerary complex was built.

The most striking example of Frankish *spolia* is found on the Madrasa of al-Nasir Muhammad, built in the year 1304. The entranceway of the madrasa is actually a church portal taken from a Frankish building in Acre (see fig. 8).[44] Al-Ashraf Khalil, Qalawun's son and heir, led the attack on the city of Acre to fulfill a vow he made to his father. Though well fortified and manned by the Templars, Hospitallers, and Teutonic Knights, Acre fell to the Mamluks in 1291 in forty-four days with a great number of casualties.[45] As a result of this definitive Mamluk conquest, other Frankish strongholds and cities in the vicinity capitulated and this victory effectively ended the Frankish presence in the Levant.[46]

[44] Al-Nasir Muhammad's madrasa and its Crusader spoil are mentioned frequently in the art historical literature on Mamluk architecture; see Creswell, *The Muslim Architecture of Egypt*, II, 234–35, with an extensive bibliography in n. 4; Behrens-Abouseif, *Islamic Architecture in Cairo*, p. 100; Meinecke-Berg, 'Spolien', p. 141; Meinecke-Berg, 'Verwendung', p. 532; Jacoby, 'Crusader Sculpture in Cairo', pp. 121–38; Zehava Jacoby, 'Ideological and Pragmatic Aspects of Muslim Iconoclasm after the Crusader Advent in the Holy Land', in *L'Art et les révolutions: actes du XXVII^e Congrès international d'histoire de l'art* (Strasbourg: Société alsacienne pour le développement de l'histoire de l'art, 1992), § 4, 'Les iconoclasmes', pp. 13–24 (p. 14); More recently, Blair and Bloom, *The Art and Architecture of Islam*, p. 77, Oleg Grabar, 'The Crusades', p. 237, Maria Georgopoulou, 'The Artistic World of the Crusaders and Oriental Christians in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', *Gesta*, 43 (2004), 115–28 (p. 120), and Hunt, 'Churches of Old Cairo', p. 319, refer to this portal. Even among historians, such as Little, 'Fall of ʿAkka', p. 177, Runciman, *A History*, III, 382, 421, Richard, *The Crusades*, p. 467, Hillenbrand, *The Crusades*, pp. 385–86, and David Jacoby, 'Society, Culture, and the Arts in Crusader Acre', in *France and the Holy Land: Frankish Culture at the End of the Crusades*, ed. by Daniel Weiss and Lisa Mahoney (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), pp. 97–137 (p. 113), we see an interest in the appropriation of this portal.

[45] Richard, *The Crusades*, pp. 464–66; Gabrieli, *Arab Historians of the Crusades*, pp. 346, 349. See, in general, Little, 'The Fall of ʿAkka', pp. 159–81.

[46] Richard, *The Crusades*, p. 467; Powell, 'The Fifth Crusade', p. 171; Hillenbrand, *The Crusades*, p. 241. Muslim historians noted that 'the whole of Syria and the coastal zones were purified of the Franks'; see Gabrieli, *Arab Historians of the Crusades*, p. 346. Northrup, *From Slave to Sultan*, p. 156, adds that Muslim writers invested the fall of Acre with religious significance, nothing less than the triumph of Islam over Christianity. Folda, *Crusader Art*, p. 507, notes that the fall of Acre signalled the end of Crusader art as well.

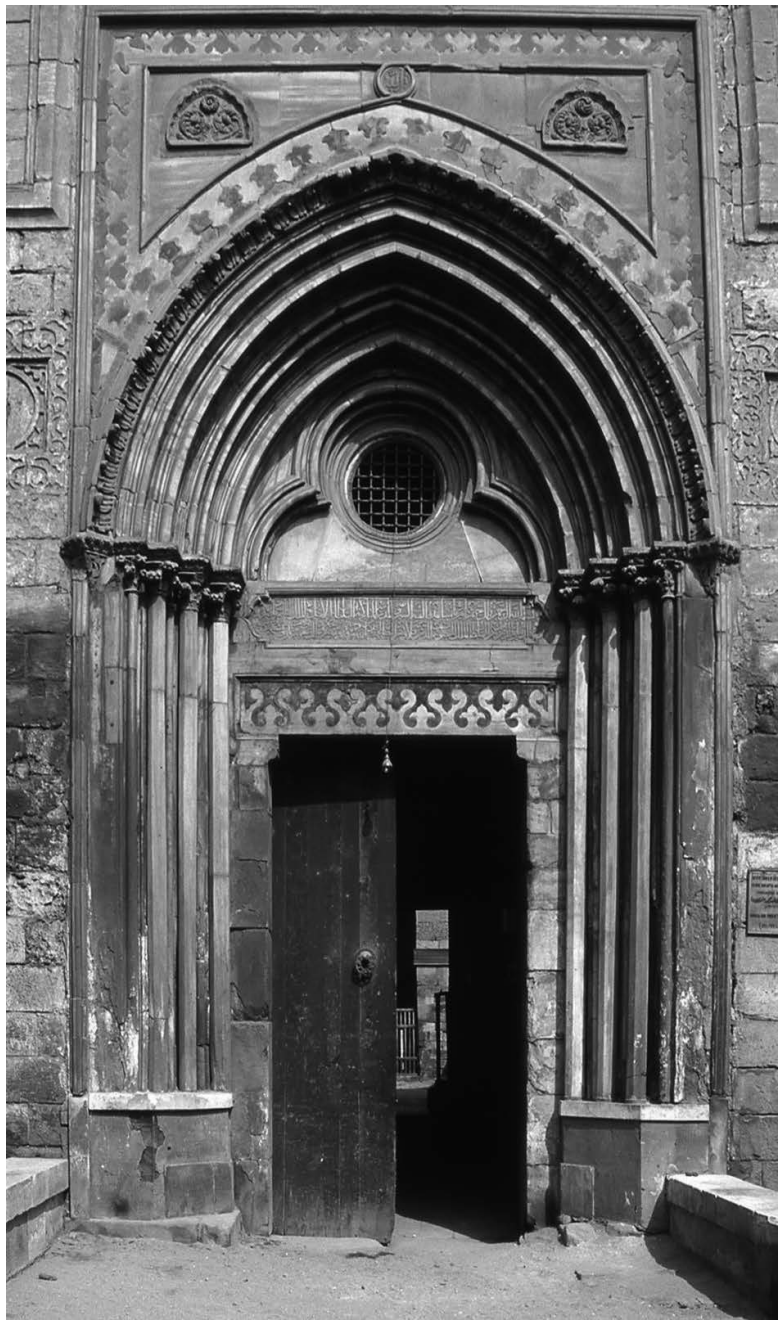

Figure 8. Madrasa of al-Nasir Muhammad, façade and portal, Cairo. 1304 (photo: author).

The conquerors set about destroying the city, but spared the portal of one Christian church.[47] The Sultan al-Ashraf Khalil shipped this portal (along with other reusable materials) to Cairo, but he was not able to employ it on any structure of his own.[48] It ultimately graced the façade of the madrasa of al-Nasir Muhammad (r. 1293–1340, with interruptions), his younger brother. The inspiration to reuse the Christian church portal on a Muslim religious structure cannot be credited to al-Nasir Muhammad, however. The Sultan al-ʿAdil Kitbugha was the original patron for this monument, and it was he who put the reused portal into place. After Kitbugha was removed from office, al-Nasir Muhammad purchased the madrasa and changed the structure's name to reflect his ownership.[49] Thus, various members of the Mamluk ruling class understood that this doorway was an important spoil and sought to employ it in a high-profile structure in the city of Cairo. Originally appropriated from the Franks, the Acre portal became the subject of multiple appropriations among the Mamluks themselves.[50]

The madrasa with its distinctive Gothic portal was located adjacent to Qalawun's complex on Bayn al-Qasrayn. Al-Nasir Muhammad's appropriated trophy of war thus received maximum visibility in the city.[51] Though he could not claim any great victories of his own against the Franks, al-Nasir Muhammad adopted the

[47] The church from which the portal was taken remains in question. Richard, *The Crusades*, p. 467, states that the portal came from the Holy Cross; Hillenbrand, *The Crusades*, p. 385, attributes it to the church of St Jean d'Acre; Runciman, *A History*, III, 382, 421, mentions the church of St Andrew as the source for this architectural spoil.

[48] Creswell, *The Muslim Architecture of Egypt*, II, 234, following Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Maqrīzī, *Kitāb al-sulūk li-maʿrifat duwal al-mulūk, li-Taqī al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn ʿAlī al-Maqrīzī*, ed. by Muḥammad Muṣṭafā Ziyādah, 4 vols (Cairo: Lajnat al-Taʾlif wa-al-Tarjamah wa-al-Nashr, 1934–) I. 3, 951.

In fact, this portal had a complicated history after it arrived in Cairo. It was first stored in the sultan's building materials' depot, and then came into the possession of the amir Baidara. The Sultan al-Adil Kitbugha acquired it from him and then employed it in his madrasa. See Creswell, *The Muslim Architecture of Egypt*, II, 234; Meinecke-Berg, 'Verwendung', p. 532.

[49] Behrens-Abouseif, *Islamic Architecture in Cairo*, p. 100; Fernandes, 'The Foundation of Baybars al-Jashankir: Its Waqf, History, and Architecture', *Muqarnas*, 3 (1987), 21–42 (p. 35); Creswell, *The Muslim Architecture of Egypt*, II, 234; Howayda al-Harithy, 'The Patronage of al-Nasir Muhammad ibn Qalawun, 1310–1341', *Mamluk Studies Review*, 4 (2000), 219–44 (p. 234).

[50] Jacoby, 'Crusader Sculpture in Cairo', p. 126, notes that the Crusader columns that adorn the Madrasa of Sultan Hasan were probably reused on another Cairene building before they adorned the madrasa; this would be another example of serial spoliation among the Mamluks.

[51] Viktoria Meinecke-Berg, 'Die Spolien', in *Die Restaurierung der Madrasa des Amīrs Sābiq ad-Dīn Mitqāl al-Ānūkī und die Sanierung des Darb Qirmiz in Kairo*, ed. by Michael Meinecke (Mainz: von Zabern, 1980), pp. 49–52 (p. 51).

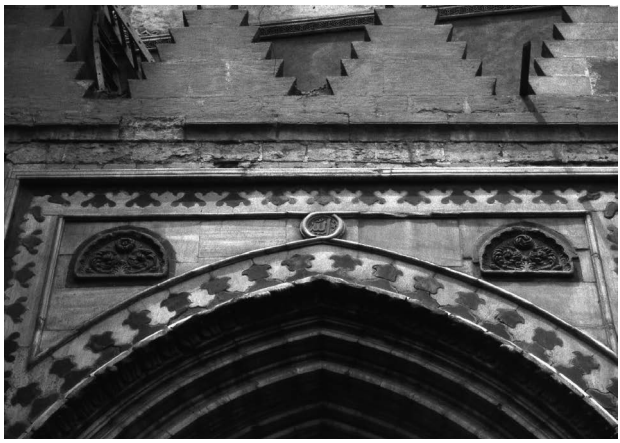

Figure 9. Madrasa of al-Nasir Muhammad, portal detail, Cairo. 1304 (photo: author).

visual trappings associated with warfare against the Christians that his predecessor Baybars and his father Qalawun proudly displayed on their Cairene monuments. The ultimate reconfiguration of this monument as a Muslim religious building can be seen in the addition of a medallion with the name of God in Arabic at the apex of the arch (see fig. 9).[52]

The reused Frankish portal on al-Nasir Muhammad's madrasa has generally been understood as the definitive statement by the Mamluks of Islam's victory over Christianity. This Frankish spoil has been almost unanimously interpreted as a victory trophy in a religious and military sense, signalling the Mamluks' resounding conquest of Christian territories and, by association, the triumph of Islam.[53] However, by the time of al-Nasir Muhammad, especially in his third reign as Mamluk sultan, there were few Franks left to fight. Emphasis in the jihad had turned to the Mongols, who loomed as a threatening presence on the Mamluks' northern and eastern borders until a peace treaty was signed between the two parties in 1322.[54] The Franks were thus an enemy of the past, and no longer played a significant role in Mamluk military objectives.

It is perhaps because the Franks had ceased to be a military threat that the reuse of this portal can be characterized as a complimentary presentation of Frankish cultural production. A certain sense of religious superiority did determine the Frankish portal's appropriation, but there was also a high level of aesthetic appreciation associated with this Christian object. Al-Maqrizi states that this was

[52] Behrens-Abouseif, *Islamic Architecture in Cairo*, p. 100.

[53] Meinceke-Berg, 'Verwendung', p. 532.

[54] al-Harithy, 'Patronage of al-Nasir Muhammad', p. 222.

the most beautiful portal in all of Cairo; thus the high quality of its materials and workmanship was apparent to him, and probably would have been to the general viewer.[55] It is the subject of some debate as to whether viewers would even recognize that this work was of Christian origin, but certainly the Mamluks would.[56] Frankish *spolia* continued to be used throughout the fourteenth century, seen particularly in slender columns and capitals that graced windows, facades, even *mihrabs*.[57] This consistent reuse seems to have demonstrated an appreciation of the beauty and quality of these Frankish objects at a time when the Crusader military threat was relegated to history.

Indeed, recent scholarship on the art of the Crusades, though acknowledging the sometimes-antagonistic interaction between Muslims and Christians in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries,[58] has also noted a spirit of economic and even political cooperation that extended to the cultural realm. In this time period, people of all ethnicities and religious persuasions in the Eastern Mediterranean

[55] See Hunt, 'Churches of Old Cairo', p. 321 (citing Creswell, *The Muslim Architecture of Egypt*, II, 234) for this reference to al-Maqrīzī. The original text is found in al-Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, I. 3, 951.

[56] Jacoby, 'Crusader Sculpture in Cairo', p. 126, discusses the Crusader *spolia* on the Madrasa of Sultan Hasan, and how the objects' Christian provenance would have been lost on viewers in the mid-fourteenth century. Anthony Cutler, 'Everywhere and Nowhere: The Invisible Muslim and Christian Self-Fashioning in the Culture of Outremer', in *France and the Holy Land: Frankish Culture at the End of the Crusades*, ed. by Daniel Weiss and Lisa Mahoney (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2004), pp. 253–81 (p. 273), makes a similar argument concerning the use of Muslim motifs and forms in Crusader art.

[57] Creswell, *The Muslim Architecture of Egypt*, II, 191, notes that 'many fragments of Gothic workmanship, chiefly columns, are to be found in the monuments of Cairo'. Crusader columns and capitals flank the *mihrabs* of the Mausoleum of Zain al-Din Yusuf, the Mosque of Amir Aslam al-Silahdar, and the madrasas of Sarghatmish, Sultan Hasan, and Amir Mithqal. Similar diminutive Crusader columns ornament the façade of the Madrasa of Sunqur al-Saʿdi, and the dikka in the Mosque of Aqsunqur. The khanqahs of Baybars al-Jashankir and the amir Sheikhu feature copies of Crusader columns on their façade and mihrab respectively. The Madrasa of Sultan Hasan also has copies of *spolia* columns on the dikka in the main *iwan*. I will discuss the Crusader *spolia* and *spolia* copies used in Mamluk architecture in a forthcoming book, *The Aesthetics of Appropriation: The Use of 'Spolia' in the Mamluk Architecture of Cairo*. Hunt, 'Churches of Old Cairo', pp. 337–40, identifies the column on façade of the Madrasa of Sultan Hasan carved with architectural representations as a Crusader spoil, as does Jacoby, 'Crusader Sculpture in Cairo', pp. 123–26.

[58] Cutler, 'Everywhere and Nowhere', p. 273; Maria Georgopoulou, 'Orientalism and Crusader Art: Constructing a New Canon', *Medieval Encounters*, 5 (1999), 289–321(pp. 290–91); Eva Hoffman, 'Christian-Islamic Encounters on Thirteenth-Century Ayyubid Metalwork: Local Culture, Authenticity, and Memory', *Gesta*, 43 (2004), 129–42 (p. 133).

produced hybrid, multicultural artworks whose appeal transcended political boundaries and religious affiliations.[59]

The period of Ayyubid control of Egypt and Syria epitomized this spirit of accommodation and cooperation in political, economic, and artistic realms.[60] The Ayyubid state consisted of a loose confederation of independent principalities, and the high level of competition between various Ayyubid rulers encouraged the forging of alliances with Christian-held territories.[61] The Ayyubids also promoted economic interaction with their Frankish neighbours, and goods from Europe to the Far East moved in and out of Christian-controlled port cities.[62]

On the basis of this political and economic cooperation, art historians have argued for a shared culture of objects or common visual language in the eastern Mediterranean, characterized by a cross-cultural appreciation of an object's beauty, monetary worth, and symbolic value.[63] This common aesthetic informed artistic production in these realms, so that is it difficult, if not impossible, in some cases to pinpoint the origin of luxury objects; their participation in a shared visual culture blurred markers of ethnic or religious affiliation in favour of this cross-cultural style and iconography.[64] In fact, a significant element of the study

[59] Humphreys, 'Ayyubids, Mamluks, and the Latin East', p. 3, notes the gulf between actual policies and ideology in Muslim/Crusader interactions; Hillenbrand, *The Crusades*, p. 248, also notes this discrepancy, and cites the work of Michael Köhler, *Allianzen und Verträge zwischen fränkischen und islamischen Herrschern im Vorderen Orient* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1991), who treats this issue in detail.

[60] Ranee Katzenstein and Glenn Lowry, 'Christian Themes in Thirteenth-Century Islamic Metalwork', *Muqarnas*, 1 (1983), 53–68 (p. 62).

[61] Humphreys, 'Ayyubids, Mamluks, and the Latin East', pp. 5–7. This accommodation to Christian interests reached its high point with the ceding of the city of Jerusalem to the Franks in 1229 by the Ayyubid ruler al-Kamil; see Hillenbrand, *The Crusades*, pp. 204, 216. Both Humphreys, 'Ayyubids, Mamluks, and the Latin East', pp. 5, 7, and Hillenbrand, *The Crusades*, pp. 203–04, note that Ayyubid rulers were in many cases more likely to seek alliances and treaties with the Franks than with other Ayyubids.

[62] Humphreys, 'Ayyubids, Mamluks, and the Latin East', p. 9; Hillenbrand, *The Crusades*, p. 224; Georgopoulou, 'Orientalism and Crusader Art', pp. 292–94.

[63] Hillenbrand, *The Crusades*, p. 391; Georgopoulou, 'Orientalism and Crusader Art', p. 290; Grabar, 'The Crusades', pp. 240–41; Hoffman, 'Christian-Islamic Encounters', p. 139; see also Eva Hoffman, 'Pathways of Portability: Islamic and Christian Interchange from the Tenth to the Twelfth Century', *Art History*, 24 (2001), 17–50 (p. 22).

[64] Georgopoulou, 'Orientalism and Crusader Art', pp. 293, 298; Georgopoulou, 'Artistic World', p. 123; Oleg Grabar, 'The Shared Culture of Objects', in *Byzantine Court Culture from 829 to 1204*, ed. by Henry Maguire (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1997), pp. 115–29 (p. 129). This point is argued effectively in Hoffman, 'Christian-Islamic Encounters', pp. 129–42.

of Crusader art is the shift of emphasis from the provenance of an object to a concern for its meaning as it travelled between cultures.[65] A prime example of this blurring of cultural boundaries is a group of metalwork objects from the Ayyubid period depicting Christian scenes; a number of scholars have argued that at this time Christian imagery on objects made for and by Muslims had a range of positive associations.[66]

One could argue that the political and economic situation and cultural outlook of the Ayyubid period did not completely disappear with the establishment of the Mamluk dynasty and dissolution of Frankish territories in the Levant.[67] As noted above, the Mamluks frequently pursued peaceful truces with their Christian neighbours, and military initiatives against the Franks were more a question of practicality than deep-seated animosity.[68] Economically, the Mamluks perpetuated the open-minded agenda of their predecessors, and even deepened existing relationships with European merchants like the Venetians and Genoese.[69]

Mamluk artworks can be seen to reflect a similar inclusive perspective, a continuation of this shared culture of objects.[70] Because the Crusader military threat was eliminated, the Mamluks were in a sense free to appreciate their cul-

[65] Cutler, 'Everywhere and Nowhere', p. 253, underlines the pitfalls of treating a complex object as the product of a single society. Hoffman, 'Pathways of Portability', pp. 17, 41–42, advocates a shift of emphasis from production to circulation in her study of portable luxury objects that travelled throughout the Mediterranean. And Georgopoulou, 'Orientalism and Crusader Art', p. 295, notes that for the glass beakers she analyzes in her article there were probably four different audiences for these artworks. See also, Grabar, 'Shared Culture of Objects', pp. 116, 126; Hoffman, 'Christian-Islamic Encounters', pp. 132–33.

[66] Grabar, 'The Crusades', pp. 240–41; Katzenstein and Lowry, 'Christian Themes', pp. 65–66; Hoffman, 'Christian-Islamic Encounters', pp. 129–33. Hunt, 'Churches of Old Cairo', p. 342, makes a similar argument for the exchange of decorative motifs and artistic styles among Mamluks and Coptic Christians in Cairo.

[67] Grabar, 'Crusader Art', p. 245, does argue for a marked shift in mentality after 1250 that polarized artistic production along religious lines.

[68] Hillenbrand, *The Crusades*, pp. 250, 392.

[69] Hillenbrand, *The Crusades*, p. 248, warns against overplaying the jihad card, and notes the arenas of Mamluk-Crusader interaction in the early years of the Mamluk dynasty. More specifically, Hillenbrand, *The Crusades*, pp. 392–93, 399, 403–06, notes the close Mamluk economic interaction with Italian mercantile cities.

[70] Hunt, 'Churches of Old Cairo', pp. 319–42, analyzes specifically the Mamluk structures of Cairo and their relationship to contemporary church decoration in the city. She is interested in demonstrating a connection between Muslims and Christians on a local level rather than an international one.

tural achievements, and express an admiration for Frankish forms and craftsmanship.[71] Zehava Jacoby has argued, concerning the reuse of Frankish columns on the Madrasa of Sultan Hasan in the mid-fourteenth century, that by this time no one might have remembered that these objects even came from Christian structures.[72] They were employed because of their inherent beauty, the preciousness of the materials, and the quality of the craftsmanship employed in these architectural elements.[73]

I concur that the general public viewing these architectural structures might not have recognized the origin of the appropriated objects decorating them; they would have understood that they were foreign, and perhaps appreciated their aesthetic appeal. However, I do believe that the Christian provenance of these objects was important to Mamluk patrons and artists, perhaps to express some sense of religious superiority, but also to demonstrate a level of cultural sophistication and cosmopolitan court lifestyle with which the Mamluks are not often associated.[74] These finely wrought and beautiful architectural elements added variety, beauty, and elegance to structures that are most often noted for their massive and imposing appearance.[75] Like the exchange of luxury small-scale objects in court culture, the use of foreign *spolia* on Mamluk architectural structures inserted the Mamluks into this international courtly environment, as

[71] See Jacoby, 'Ideological and Pragmatic Aspects', pp. 13, 21, for this admiration and appreciation of foreign, including Christian, objects and craftsmanship. Hoffman, 'Pathways of Portability', pp. 33, 37–38, notes the influence of the movement of portable objects on architectural decoration.

[72] Jacoby, 'Crusader Sculpture in Cairo', p. 126.

[73] Hillenbrand, *The Crusades*, p. 382; Hunt, 'Churches of Old Cairo', p. 332, notes that the European Gothic style was something that Mamluks and Coptic Christians in Egypt could both appreciate.

[74] See Hoffman, 'Pathways of Portability', p. 23, for the multiple identities that the movement of portable objects afforded, and the possibility of different interpretations of the objects by different audiences. She also notes, p. 25, that foreign objects enjoyed higher status than local ones; this was probably a significant aspect in the appropriation of Crusader building material. Nasser Rabbat, 'Perception of Architecture in Mamluk Sources', *Mamluk Studies Review*, 6 (2002), pp. 155–76, notes the discrepancy between Mamluk and *ʿulama* views of Mamluk architecture. This observation suggests that the general population of Cairo would have yet another understanding of monumental architecture in their city.

[75] Bernard O'Kane, 'Monumentality in Mamluk and Mongol Art and Architecture', *Art History*, 19 (1996), 499–522 (pp. 503, 514); Stephen R. Humphreys, 'The Expressive Intent of the Mamluk Architecture of Cairo: A Preliminary Essay', *Studia Islamica*, 35 (1972), 69–119 (pp. 95, 97–99).

an integral part of a network of multi-ethnic and influential rulers that extended from Western Europe to the Mongol Far East.[76]

Thus, in the cultural realm of the Mamluk empire, political ideology and cultural mentalities were manifested in separate textual and visual languages. The discrepancy between these two languages can be attributed to a distinction between the producers of these literary and visual works. The Mamluks, the slave soldiers who ruled the empire, were by and large the most influential art patrons in Egypt and Syria, whereas the *ʿulama* and scribal class virtually monopolized the production of textual knowledge. In this power-sharing arrangement, these two patronage groups remained discrete, with a fragile symbiosis tying them together.[77] The social and political gulf that separated them manifested itself in their artistic output.[78] It is in Muslim texts from this period that we see the most strident expression of hatred towards the Franks, but, as Nasser Rabbat has noted, the ideas and opinions stated in the literary works of the Mamluk period can be understood as those of this educated class, and not the Mamluks themselves.[79]

[76] For this international court culture and the exchange of goods and objects through trade, gift exchange and plunder, see Cutler, 'Everywhere and Nowhere', pp. 258–63; Grabar, 'Shared Culture of Objects', pp. 125–27; Hoffman, 'Pathways of Portability', pp. 22, 26; Hoffman, 'Christian-Islamic Encounters', pp. 137–38; Jacoby, 'Crusader Sculpture in Cairo', p. 121; Georgopoulou, 'Orientalism and Crusader Art', p. 298.

[77] The Mamluks needed their bureaucrats to run their slave empire, and they also relied heavily on the support of the *ʿulama* to create a bridge between them and the common people in their realm; see Ulrich Haarmann, 'Rather the Injustice of the Turks than the Righteousness of the Arabs: Changing ʿUlama Attitudes towards Mamluk Rule in the Late Fifteenth Century', *Studia Islamica*, 68 (1988), 61–77 (p. 74); Nasser Rabbat, 'Representing the Mamluks in Mamluk Historical Writing', in *The Historiography of Islamic Egypt (c. 950–1800)*, ed. by Hugh Kennedy (Leiden: Brill, 2001), pp. 59–75 (p. 67); Rabbat, 'Perception of Architecture', p. 166; Ulrich Haarmann, 'Arabic in Speech, Turkish in Lineage: Mamluks and their Sons in the Intellectual Life of Fourteenth-Century Egypt and Syria', *Journal of Semitic Studies*, 33 (1988), 81–114 (pp. 81–6). Northrup, *From Slave to Sultan*, pp. 121–25, notes that an undercurrent of opposition to the sultan Qalawun existed in religious circles, which manifested itself in criticism of his tomb complex; she cites al-Maqrīzī, *Khitāt*, II, 406–08.

[78] For this gulf and the influence it had on literary works and the descriptions of architecture contained within them, see Rabbat, 'Perception of Architecture', p. 157.

[79] Rabbat, 'Representing the Mamluks', p. 60, eloquently states that 'the Mamluk image in history is a construct in which the Mamluks themselves played a negligible part'. See also Haarmann, 'Arabic in Speech, Turkish in Lineage', p. 81. These educated locals openly perpetuated stereotypes of Mamluk boorishness, ignorance, brutality, lack of culture and learning in their written works; for this stereotype, see Haarmann, 'Arabic in Speech, Turkish in Lineage', pp. 81–85; Rabbat, 'Representing the Mamluks', p. 74; Jonathan Berkey, 'The Mamluks as

The architectural monuments of the Mamluks, then, might more effectively express their views in a visual, not a literary language.[80] In other words, Mamluk artistic commissions presented Mamluk mentalities towards other cultures in a form untainted by the presuppositions of the literary elite.[81] Mamluk architecture of the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries employed Christian objects, styles, and motifs extensively, and defined a visual language that displayed an attitude of respect and admiration for Frankish artist production that is conspicuously absent from literary works.

In the early years of the Mamluk dynasty, the Franks served a significant political and cultural purpose. It could be argued that the Mamluks constructed the Crusader armies as a paper tiger, an enemy made to look fierce in textual sources but easily subdued on the field of battle. The Franks' possession of fortified castles and limited landholdings along the eastern Mediterranean coast provided no serious military threat or challenge to the stability of the Mamluk political system, but their annihilation conferred great glory upon the Mamluks as military leaders and defenders of the lands of Islam. In the cultural realm, the Mamluks found much that they could admire and appropriate in Frankish architecture; for the brief period of their coexistence in the Levant, Mamluks and Franks shared a culture of objects and spoke the same visual language.

Muslims: The Military Elite and the Construction of Islam in Medieval Egypt', in *The Mamluks in Egyptian Politics and Society*, ed. by Thomas Philipp and Ulrich Haarmann (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 163–73 (pp. 163, 166). This is a stereotype that Berkey has attempted to dispel in this article and other works. In fact, what Berkey, 'Mamluks as Muslims', pp. 168–70, argues is that not only is it not accurate to see the Mamluks as not adhering to established models of Islamic rulership, but they were in part responsible for a redefinition of Islam taking place in the later Middle Ages.

[80] Rabbat, 'Representing the Mamluks', p. 63, notes that no identifiable Mamluk perspective emerged from literary texts of the period; this opens the possibility that visual representations have as much if not more potential to portray a Mamluk perspective. Rabbat, 'Perceptions of Architecture', p. 175, argues that architecture to the literary class was 'puzzling aesthetically and almost meaningless symbolically'. Looking for meaning within the monuments themselves therefore might be more effective than referring to textual sources.

[81] The Mamluks were prodigious art patrons, and Jonathan Bloom, 'Mamluk Art and Architectural History: A Review Article', *Mamluk Studies Review*, 3 (1999), 31–58 (p. 37), has noted the great number of Mamluk structures that have survived in the Egypt and Syria. Jonathan Berkey, 'The Mamluks as Muslims', p. 163, and Rabbat, 'Perceptions of Architecture', p. 158, also indicate the significance of architectural patronage for the Mamluks, and the role that it played in connecting these foreign rulers with the local people and *ʿulama*.

Modes of Literary Behaviour in Christian-Islamic Encounters in the Iberian Peninsula: *Pseudo-Turpin* versus Peter the Venerable

Matthias M. Tischler

This article returns to a consideration of depictions of Christian-Islamic encounters in medieval writing, as assessed in earlier chapters of this volume, but now within the context of the Iberian Peninsula. It springs from a long-term research project, exploring how far, and under what circumstances, Christians have been prepared to live in peace or in conflict with Islam, and when and why peace or conflict became predominant at different times.[1] The Iberian Peninsula during the twelfth to fifteenth centuries, which was geographically and politically distinct from the rest of Europe and a region of cultural and religious contacts, encounters, exchanges, and conflicts between Christians and Muslims, provides an excellent model for analysis of this problem. The discussion in this article will focus on two central Latin texts produced or situated within twelfth-century Iberian Christianity, the *Pseudo-Turpin*, a Latin fictionalized account of Charlemagne's campaigns in the Iberian Peninsula, and the *Contra sectam Saracenorum* of Peter the Venerable, abbot of Cluny (1122–56), a refutation of Islamic beliefs. I will examine the modes of behaviour which are depicted and promoted within these texts and show that both writers proposed dialogue

[1] The development of this paper from that given in Session 113 ('Iberian Cultural Clashes, 11th–13th Centuries') of the International Medieval Congress 'Clash of Cultures', at Leeds, on 12 July 2004, derives from my research project 'Von Petrus Alfonsi zu Alfonsus von Espina. Lateinische Integrations- und Desintegrationsprozesse in der christlich-muslimischen Begegnung und Wahrnehmung auf der Iberischen Halbinsel vom 12. bis 15. Jahrhundert im europäischen Kontext', which is part of the Schwerpunktprogramm 1173 'Integration und Desintegration der Kulturen im europäischen Mittelalter', financed by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft, Bonn.

Languages of Love and Hate: Conflict, Communication, and Identity in the Medieval Mediterranean, ed. by Sarah Lambert and Helen Nicholson, International Medieval Research, 15 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), 201–221 BREPOLS PUBLISHERS 10.1484/M.IMR-EB.1.101137

between the two faiths as a means of defeating the rival religion. However, the *Pseudo-Turpin* also conceived of the use of physical force as a last resort, whereas Peter the Venerable regarded the use of reasoned argument as obligatory. It was the more aggressive mode of literary behaviour depicted by the *Pseudo-Turpin* which circulated most widely among medieval audiences, while Peter's work did not circulate outside the inner circle of Cluniac monasticism.

These two examples of 'literary behaviour' both have their origin in the French–Iberian culture of Latin Christianity. Both authors were of French origin, both aimed at a specific audience of Iberian readers, and both testified to a certain stage of development in the Christian image of Islam in the twelfth century — the change from regarding Islam as paganism to regarding it as heresy — which was directly related to a dramatic change of strategy in the confrontation with Islam. It was in this period that some Latin Christians for the first time seriously weighed up the value of the employment of physical force against the use of intellectual force towards the Muslims. 'Crusade' had not yet become a generally accepted and institutionalized form of physical encounter with Muslims, nor had 'dialogue' become an established form of intellectual encounter with them.

The so-called *Pseudo-Turpin*, written as early as 1127/29, was one of the most famous and successful Latin legends of Charlemagne and Roland.[2] Its primary purpose was to promote the international pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela and to develop a Christian anti-Islamic crusaders-identity among the pilgrims and canons of Compostela.[3] The *Pseudo-Turpin* sprang from a canonical intellectual circle. Its original context of transmission, in the so-called 'Codex Calixtinus', was the cathedral chapter of Santiago de Compostela.[4] The (fictive) dedication

[2] For the historical and theological background of this text, see Norman Daniel, *The Arabs and Mediaeval Europe* (London: Longman, 1975 (cited); repr. 1979, 1986), pp. 98–100 (on chap. 12). See also, Matthias Martin Tischler, 'Tatmensch oder Heidenapostel: Die Bilder Karls des Großen bei Einhart und im Pseudo-Turpin', in *Jakobus und Karl der Große: Von Einhards Karlsvita zum Pseudo-Turpin*, ed. by Klaus Herbers, Jakobus-Studien, 14 (Tubingen: Narr, 2003), pp. 1–37, 221 (Spanish summary). For further discussion of this text, and the various published editions, see Marianne Ailes's article in this volume. See also Adalbert Hämel, 'Los manuscritos latinos del falso Turpino', in *Estudios dedicados a Menéndez Pidal*, 7 vols (Madrid: CSIC, 1953), IV, 67–85. The overview of the manuscript tradition given in *Naissance et développement de la Chanson de geste en Europe, 1: La Geste de Charlemagne et de Roland*, ed. by André de Mandach (Genève: Droz, 1961), pp. 364–98, should be used critically because it confuses existing and reconstructed manuscripts and manuscript versions.

[3] See Tischler, 'Tatmensch oder Heidenapostel', pp. 4–5 and nn. 15–16.

[4] See Manuel Cecilio Díaz y Díaz, *El Códice Calixtino de la catedral de Santiago: Estudio codicológico y de contenido* (Santiago de Compostela: Centro de Estudios Jacobeos, 1988).

of the work is to Leoprandus, the dean of the chapter of Aachen.[5] The author preferred the canonical *vita religiosa* or religious way of life to the Benedictine form of living.[6] The author asserts the chronological priority of the cathedral of Santiago de Compostela as the spiritual and political centre of a kingdom, over the Benedictine abbey of Saint-Denis.[7] Finally, Charlemagne's richest (fictive) donations are to the cathedral chapter of Santiago de Compostela and to the community of canons at St Romain at Blaye, the burial and memorial place of Roland and the Frankish warriors killed at Roncesvalles.[8]

The legend tells of the campaigns of the most victorious Charlemagne in the Iberian Peninsula, and his total defeat of the Muslims of al-Andalus.[9] Within this curious, very chivalric story, are two chapters — chapters 12 and 17 — describing directly the confrontation between Christians and Muslims, modelled firstly as duels of arms, but secondly as duels of words as well. To my knowledge, these two scenes are the earliest literary representations of (fictitious) inter-

[5] See the prologue: 'Turpinus [...] Leoprando decano aquisgranensi salutem in Christo', in *Der Pseudo-Turpin von Compostela: Aus dem Nachlaß herausgegeben von André de Mandach*, ed. by Adalbert Hämel, Sitzungsbericht der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse 1965, 1 (München: Beck, 1965), pp. 37–102 (p. 37, ll. 8–10); *Liber Sancti Jacobi: Codex Calixtinus*, ed. by Klaus Herbers and Manuel Santos Noia (Santiago de Compostela: Xunta de Galicia, 1998), pp. 199–229 (p. 199, ll. 2–3).

[6] See chap. 13 ('De pauperibus'): 'Quos habitu atro vides, monachi et abbates illis sanciores sunt [...]. Quos habitu candido vides, kanonici regulares dicuntur, qui meliorum sanctorum sectam tenent': *Der Pseudo-Turpin*, ed. by Hämel, p. 57, ll. 577–80; *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, ed. by Herbers and Santos Noia, p. 209, ll. 9–11.

[7] See chaps 19 and 30: *Der Pseudo-Turpin*, ed. by Hämel, pp. 69–71, 88–87; *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, ed. by Herbers and Santos Noia, pp. 214–15, 223.

[8] See chaps 5 and 29: *Der Pseudo-Turpin*, ed. by Hämel, p. 46, ll. 201–05; p. 86, l. 1482 to p. 87, l. 1490; and p. 87, ll. 1499–1517; *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, ed. by Herbers and Santos Noia, p. 203, l. 23–26; p. 222, ll. 18–23; and p. 222, l. 29 to p. 223, l. 3.

[9] 'Qualiter imperator noster famosissimus Karolus magnus tellurem yspanicam et gallecianam a potestate Sarracenorum liberavit, mirorum gestorum apices eiusque laudanda super yspanicos Sarracenos trophea [...]. Hic vero Karolus postquam multis laboribus per multa climata orbis diversa regna [...] ceterasque regiones innumerasque urbes a mari usque ad mare, divinis subsidiis munitus, invincibili brachio potencie sue adquisivit et a Sarracenorum manibus abstulit, christianoque imperio subiugavit [...] ad expugnandas gentes perfidas Yspaniam ingressus est [...] sed hic Karolus magnus totam Yspaniam suis temporibus sibi subiugavit': *Der Pseudo-Turpin*, ed. by Hämel, p. 37, l. 13 to p. 38, l. 16; p. 41, ll. 39–45; p. 42, ll. 81–82; and p. 45, ll. 168–69; *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, ed. by Herbers and Santos Noia, p. 199, ll. 5–7; p. 201, ll. 8–13, 38–39; and p. 203, ll. 3–4.

religious dialogues between Christians and Muslims in Spain.[10] First is the dialogue between Charlemagne and Aigoland, the African king and warlord who reoccupied large parts of the Peninsula after Charlemagne's return to France (chap. 12); Aigoland's agreement to be baptized, and his subsequent reversal of his decision when he sees how badly the Christians serve their God, has already been discussed in this volume by Marianne Ailes.[11] Then, a second duel of words occurs between the young Christian hero Roland and the Muslim giant Ferracut, who is 'de genere Goliath' (of Goliath's race: chap. 17).[12]

The *Pseudo-Turpin*'s comparison of the inter-religious confrontation between Roland and Ferracut to the well-known image of David and Goliath is a literary construction embeded in the rich antique and medieval tradition of Christian exegesis of I Samuel 17.[13] In the Latin patristic and medieval tradition of typology and biblical exegesis since at least Saint Augustine,[14] the duel of David and

[10] This story appears to be related to the inter-religious conversation between Bohemond of Taranto, his chaplain, and the Saracen Firouz of Antioch, as recounted by the contemporary Robert the Monk (Robertus Monachus), *Historia Iherosolimitana* (v. 8–9), in *Recueil des historiens des Croisades: Historiens occidentaux*, ed. by Académie Royale des inscriptions et belles-lettres, 5 vols (in 6) (Paris: Imprimerie royale, 1844–95), III (1866), 717–882 (pp. 796–98), but the exact relationship remains to be determined; see Frédéric-Auguste-Ferdinand-Thomas de Reiffenberg, *Chronique rimée de Philippe Mouskes*, Collection de chroniques belges inédites, 2, 2 vols (Brussels: Hayez, 1836–38), II, p. cxci.

[11] *Der Pseudo-Turpin*, ed. by Hämel, pp. 55–57; *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, ed. by Herbers and Santos Noia, p. 208; and see Marianne Ailes's paper in this volume.

[12] *Der Pseudo-Turpin*, ed. by Hämel, pp. 61–7; *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, ed. by Herbers and Santos Noia, pp. 211–13. For the quotation, see *Der Pseudo-Turpin*, ed. by Hämel, p. 61, l. 693; *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, ed. by Herbers and Santos Noia, p. 211, l. 2. The expanded version printed in *Der Pseudo-Turpin*, ed. by Hämel, p. 64, l. 781 to p. 66, l. 859; *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, ed. by Herbers and Santos Noia, p. 212, l. 13 to p. 213, l. 14, a real explanation of Christian faith (see *Der Pseudo-Turpin*, ed. by Hämel, p. 63, ll. 764–66; *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, ed. by Herbers and Santos Noia, p. 212, ll. 2–4), is missing in the original recension, transmitted in the manuscript families M and A; see de Mandach, *Naissance*, pp. 95 and 290–93; de Mandach, *Der Pseudo-Turpin*, ed. by Hämel, pp. 24 and 26. For a first glance at chap. 17, see Norman Daniel, *Heroes and Saracens: An Interpretation of the Chansons de Geste* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1984), pp. 206–09.

[13] See Stefan Ark Nitsche, *David gegen Goliath: Die Geschichte der Geschichten einer Geschichte; Zur fächerübergreifenden Rezeption einer biblischen Story*, Altes Testament und Moderne, 4 (Münster: LIT, 1998), pp. 149–221 and 357–67, which, however, does not mention the *Pseudo-Turpin*.

[14] *Enarrationes in Psalmos: In Psalmum XXXIII, Sermo 1*, in *Sancti Aurelii Augustini Enarrationes in Psalmos I–L*, ed. by Eligius Dekkers and Jean Fraipont, Corpus Christianorum series latina, 38 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1956), pp. 273–81 (p. 276, § 4, ll. 13–16); *Enarrationes*

Goliath — probably the most important motif of the Davidian iconography — is the best prefiguration of the victorious fight of Christ against the Devil.[15] But in the ecclesiastical tradition of Late Antiquity this is also a key model for the earliest Christian martyrs fighting without weapons against their pagan enemies. David, the prefiguration of the Lord, fights without sword and spear, as the Lord is the unarmed Saviour of mankind. In the imagination and iconography of the Latin Church, David also represents the bold and cunning warrior.[16] On the other hand, Goliath, the Philistine, impresses by his gigantic frame and heavy armour. He challenges Israel to a decisive duel. But against all expectations the young

in Psalmos: In Psalmum CXLIII, Sermo ad plebem, in *Sancti Aurelii Augustini Enarrationes in Psalmos CI–CL*, ed. by Elgius Dekkers and Jean Fraipont, Corpus Christianorum series latina, 40 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1956), pp. 2072–87 (p. 2072, § 1, ll. 9–10 and p. 2074, § 2, ll. 53–54); see Anne-Marie La Bonnardière, 'Les Livres de Samuel et des Rois, les livres des Chroniques et d'Esdras dans l'œuvre de saint Augustine', in *Mémorial Gustave Bardy* (Paris: Études Augustiennes, 1956), pp. 335–63 (p. 345). For this typological tradition in the medieval exegesis of I Samuel, see Ceslas Spicq, *Esquisse d'une histoire l'exégèse latine au moyen âge* (Paris: Vrin, 1944), pp. 36, 45; Paulino Bellet, 'Claudio de Turín, autor de los comentarios "In genesim et regum" del Pseudo Euquerio', *Estudios bíblicos*, 8 (1949), 209–23 (pp. 217–21); Giuliana Italiani, *La tradizione esegetica nel commento ai Re di Claudio di Torino*, Quaderni dell'Istituto di Filologia Classica 'Giorgio Pasquali' dell'Università degli studi di Firenze, 3 (Florence: CLUSF, 1979); Max Ludwig Wolfram Laistner, 'Some Early Medieval Commentaries on the Old Testament', *The Harvard Theological Review*, 46 (1953), 27–46; Silvia Cantelli, *Angelomo e la scuola esegetica di Luxeuil*, Biblioteca di Medioevo Latino, 1, 2 vols (Spoleto: Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo, 1990), I, 291–372.

[15] See Jean Daniélou, 'David', in *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, ed. by Ernst Dassmann, Franz Joseph Dölger, and Theodor Klauser, 4 vols (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1950–59), III (1957), cols 594–603 (cols 599, 601); Robert Ludwig Wyss, 'David', in *Lexikon der Christlichen Ikonographie*, ed. by Engelbert Kirschbaum and Wolfgang Braunfels (Roma: Herder, 1968–76), I, cols 477–90 (cols 477, 480, and 485–87). See: Ambrose, *Expositio psalmi CXVIII, Litterae*, 18 and 21, in *Sancti Ambrosi Opera*, 5: *Expositio psalmi CXVIII*, ed. by Michael Petschenig, Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum, 62 (Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1999), pp. 3–510 (p. 410, § 25 and p. 479, § 11, ll. 2–5); Augustine, *Sermo XXXII*, in *Sancti Aurelii Augustini Sermones de vetere testamento*, ed. by Cyrille Lambot, Corpus Christianorum series latina, 41 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1961), pp. 398–411 (p. 400, § 5, ll. 83–84; p. 401, § 7, l. 139; and p. 410, § 26, ll. 454–55); Isidore of Seville, *Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum: In regum primum*, PL, 83, cols 391–410 (col. 399, ll. 32–34, 41–42; and col. 400, ll. 19, 29–33); Bede, *In primam partem Samuhelis libri IV*, III. 17, in *Bedae Venerabilis Opera, II: Opera exegetica 2. In primam partem Samuhelis libri IIII. In Regum librum XXX quaestiones*, ed. by David Hurst, Corpus Christianorum series latina, 119 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1962), pp. 5–272 (p. 147, ll. 422–25; p. 148, ll. 464–66; p. 149, ll. 505–06, etc.).

[16] See Daniélou, 'David', cols 596–603.

David overcomes him by means of his catapult, aiming at the only vulnerable part of the body (1 Samuel 17. 49–51). Like Goliath, the giant Ferracut perishes by means of his own weapon: 'et misit manum suam ad mucronem eius, et punxit eius parumper umbilicum, et evasit ab eo' (and he placed his hand on his sword, and stabbed him in his navel, and escaped from him).[17] This imagery is clearly drawn from Latin patristic writings paralleling David's destruction of Goliath with Christ's defeat of the devil on the Cross, and Christian defeat of heretics, by authorities such as Ambrose,[18] Augustine of Hippo,[19] Gregory the Great,[20] and Bede.[21] The comparison of Goliath to the Muslims continued to be used by Christian writers: in 1300, Riccoldo of Monte Croce in his *Confutatio Alcorani*, chapter 2, compared convincing the Muslim with his own weapon,

[17] *Der Pseudo-Turpin*, ed. by Hämel, p. 67, ll. 873–75; *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, ed. by Herbers and Santos Noia, p. 213, ll. 23–24.

[18] 'Sicut David abstulit Goliae gladium et ipsius gladio caput eius exsecuit, sic verus David, humilis atque mansuetus dominus Iesus, intellegibilis Goliae caput armis ipsius amputavit': Ambrose, *Expositio psalmi CXVIII, Littera*, 21, in *Sancti Ambrosi Opera*, 5, ed. by Michael Petschenig, Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum latinorum, 62 (Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1999), p. 479, § 11, ll. 2–5.

[19] 'Et hoc fecit noster David, deiecit diabolum de suis; quando autem credunt magni eius, quos ille in manu habebat, et de quibus ceteras animas trucidabat, convertunt linguas suas contra diabolum; et sic Goliae de gladio suo caput inciditur': Augustine, *Enarrationes in Psalmos: In Psalmum CXLIII, Sermo ad plebem*, ed. by Dekkers and Fraipont, p. 2074, § 2, ll. 53–57; see also Claudius of Turin, *XXX Quaestiones super libros Regum*, in PL 104, col. 672, ll. 9–14; Claudius of Turin, *Commentarii in libros Regum*, in PL 50, col. 1069, ll. 58–64; Angelome of Luxeuil, *Enarrationes in libros Regum*, I. 17, in PL 115, col. 313, ll. 10–15; Raban Maur, *Commentaria in libros IV Regum*, I. 17, in PL 109, col. 53, ll. 23–27; Raban Maur, 'Glossa ordinaria' on 1 Samuel 17. 21, in PL 113, col. 557, ll. 16–20.

[20] 'Nam cum superbientes haereticos, et sacrae scripturae sententias deferentes, eisdem verbis atque sententiis quas proferunt vincimus, quasi elatum Goliam suo gladio detruncamus': Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob*, XVIII. 16, in *S. Gregorii Magni Moralia in Iob libri XI–XXII*, ed. by Marc Adriaen, Corpus Christianorum series latina, 143A (Turnhout: Brepols, 1979), pp. 585–1135 (p. 900, l. 27 to p. 901, l. 29); see also Claudius of Turin, *XXX Quaestiones super libros Regum*, in PL 104, col. 672, ll. 28–31; Claudius of Turin, *Commentarii in libros Regum*, in PL 50, col. 1069, l. 79 to col. 1070, l. 3; Angelome of Luxeuil, *Enarrationes in libros Regum*, I. 17, in PL 115, col. 313, ll. 36–39; Raban Maur, *Commentaria in libros IV Regum*, I. 17, in PL 109, col. 53, ll. 41–44.

[21] 'Sed et nos cum hereticorum vesaniae disputando occurrentes non aliis quam his quae ipsi ad nos seducendos proposuerant vel argumentationum probamentis vel testimoniis scripturarum convincimus eos "fabricatores mendacii et cultores" esse perversorum dogmatum gigantis profecto proterviam suo ense deicimus': Bede, *In primam partem Samuhelis libri IV*, III. 17, *Bedae Venerabilis Opera, II*, ed. by Hurst, p. 161, ll. 1036–41.

meaning the Koran, to convincing Goliath with his own sword.[22] This is the image of the supposedly weak overcoming the seemingly invincible. So, Goliath's stature symbolizes the arrogance of heretics who will be overcome by orthodox believers.[23] Furthermore Roland, the new David, preserves Spain from foreign and pagan dominion.

This biblical motif perfectly represented the contemporary Iberian Christian perception of Andalusian Islam, because it was a symbol of hope and success.[24] It allows us to assess the relationship between argumentation and physical force in Christian–Islamic confrontation, as it legitimates the use of the latter as 'ultima ratio', the last resort. No wonder that this symbolic narrative found architectural representation at the famous Romanesque Palace of Estella.[25] *Pseudo-Turpin*'s mode of literary behaviour fits perfectly with some past and contemporary chronicle traditions in the Iberian Peninsula between the tenth and twelfth centuries, in which the conflict between Christians and Muslims is presented as nothing less than Holy War.[26] The Christian kings are compared with their ancestors in the Old Testament, and the story of Iberian Christianity is part of the story of Divine Providence, planning and realizing the salvation of mankind.[27]

[22] 'Sed quoniam Saraceni negant miracula et verba apostolorum, propterea quod contraria sunt Alcorano, insistendum confutationi tam perfidae legis, quod non est lex dei et quod Saraceni debent suscipere evangelium testimonia similiter et quae sunt veteris testamenti. Hoc autem per ipsum Alcoranum possibile est demonstrari, ut Goliath sui ipsius ense interimatur': *Ricoldus de Montecrucis, Confutatio Alcorani (1300)*, ed. by Johannes Ehmann, Corpus Islamo-Christianum series latina, 6 (Würzburg: Echter and Altenberge: Oros, 1999), p. 26, col. a, p. 182, col. a (p. 48, col. a, ll. 1–7).

[23] These two aspects, arrogance and defeat with its own weapon, are problematized in the controversy between Lanfranc of Bec and Berengar of Tours in the eleventh century; see Margaret Gibson, *Lanfranc of Bec* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), p. 86. Bernard of Clairvaux calls Abelard a new Goliath and Arnold of Brescia his shield-bearer: see his *Epistola* 189 to Pope Innocent II, in *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, ed. by Jean Leclercq, C. H. Talbot, and Henri M. Rochais, 8 vols (Roma: Editiones Cistercienses, 1957–77), VIII, 12–16 (p. 14, ll. 1–14).

[24] See Daniel, *The Arabs*, p. 100: 'In the last resort this is a clerical fantasy of victory [...]. The days when men would rack their brains to understand why God should allow victory to the Muslims in the East [...] were yet to come'.

[25] See José María Lacarra, 'El combate de Roldán y Ferragut y su representación gráfica en el siglo XII', *Anuario del Cuerpo Facultativo de Archiveros, Bibliotecarios y Arqueólogos*, 2 (1934), 321–38 (pp. 330–32).

[26] See Peter Linehan, *History and the Historians of Medieval Spain* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993).

[27] In the opinion of José María Ramírez del Río, 'La imagen de al-Andalus en el Pseudo-Turpin',

The author's achievement in these two chapters can be summed up in three points. He adapted the traditional patristic or medieval exegesis within the new frame of legendary or hagiographical narrative. He seems to be the earliest author to use the authoritative image of David and Goliath as a biblical argument to explain the relationship between Christians and Muslims, although there are some older literary motifs in Frankish and Iberian contexts which used the duel between the Byzantine emperor Heraclius and a Persian patrician and general in AD 627 to demonstrate a similar Christian–pagan dimension.[28] He transposed the contemporary idea of duel into a new sphere of verbal argument, shifting from a focus on juridical or moral guilt to the theological inferiority of the wrong religion. The duel is here understood as a form of theological trial by ordeal: victory and defeat are indicators of divine will — the defeated is guilty (wrong), but the innocent (right) is helped by God.[29] That said, later in the twelfth century, the canonist Huguccio (Hugh of Pisa, d. 1210) would argue that the combat of David and Goliath did not give legal justification to duels: in the words of John Baldwin, 'Their duel was permitted by special divine inspiration and, like the

in *El Pseudo-Turpín: Lazo entre el culto jacobeo y el culto de Carlomagno; Actas del VI Congresso Internacional de Estudios Jacobeos*, ed. by Klaus Herbers (Santiago de Compostela: Xunta de Galicia, 2003), pp. 149–65 (p. 150), the contemporary description of the Muslims with the term 'Moabiti' is the expression of the literary legitimation of war against the descendents of Goliath, enemy of Israel. Hence, the Christian warriors are the legitimate successors of the elected people of the God of the Old Testament. See also José Maria Díaz Fernández, 'El diálogo cristiano-musulmán en el Pseudo-Turpín', in *El Pseudo-Turpín*, ed. by Klaus Herbers, pp. 167–75 (p. 172).

[28] Fredegar, *Chronicon*, IV. 64, ed. by Bruno Krusch, in MGH, Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum, 2 (Hannover: Hahn, 1888), pp. 118–68 (p. 152); *Fredegarii Chronicorum liber quartus cum continuationibus*, ed. by John Michael Wallace-Hadrill (London: Nelson, 1960), pp. 1–79 (p. 52). Compare *Chronica muzarabica*, chap. 3: 'Sed Cosdro more Philistinorum auctior spurium quendam, tamquam alterum Goliam, educit in prelio. Territi omnes Eraclii bellatores pedem subtrahunt retro. Tunc Eraclius de Domini confidens auxilio super eum descedens uno hostem perimit iaculo', ed. by Theodor Mommsen, in MGH, Auctores antiquissimi, 11: Chronica minora saec. IV. V. VI. VII (Berlin: Weidmann, 1894), p. 334, col. b to p. 368 (p. 336, col. b, ll. 7–13); *Corpus scriptorum Muzarabicorum*, ed. by Juan Gil [Fernández], Manuales y anejos de 'Emerita' 28, 1, 2 vols (Madrid: Instituto 'Antonio de Nebrija', 1973), I, 16–54 (p. 17, ll. 11–15).

[29] On the duel as one form of ordeal in the Middle Ages, see Hermann Nottarp, *Gottesurteilstudien*, Bamberger Abhandlungen und Forschungen, 2 (München: Kösel, 1956), pp. 269–313; Günter Lanczkowski and Hans-Wolfgang Strätz, 'Gottesurteil', in *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, ed. by Gerhard Krause and Gerhard Müller, 38 vols (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1976–), XIV (1985), 100–05 (pp. 101–02); Robert Bartlett, *Trial by Fire and Water: The Medieval Judicial Ordeal* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986; repr. 1990), pp. 103–26.

conduct of many Old Testament personages or more recent saints, their example should not set a precedent'.[30]

Despite the fictitious or unreal scenery of the dialogue, this fictionalization of inter-religious communication, realized in the second quarter of the twelfth century, was the first step to real Christian–Islamic dialogue in the Iberian Peninsula. Furthermore, this virtual shift from the duel of arms (arms as arguments; crusade; war) to the duel of words (arguments as arms; dialogue) is an indicator of a change of mentality in Christian–Islamic confrontation in the Iberian Peninsula. For the first time we are presented with the possible use of reason and reasoning instead of physical force.

The conceptual structure of the dialogues in *Pseudo-Turpin* is clearly a thoroughly Christian one, but it is situated between physical confrontation (that would imply the denial of rational argumentation) and oral confrontation (which means the refusal of physical force). The most important Christian aspect in both the dialogue between Charlemagne and Aigoland and that between Roland and Ferracut is the general dominance of the Christian viewpoint: the author presents only the true Christian faith as possessing convincing arguments (contents of faith) in contrast to the supposed diabolical vanity of Islam. For example, the dialogue between Charlemagne and Aigoland begins with an argument for Christian dominion over all Muslims because Christ, the Lord, creator of heaven and earth, has selected his followers to reign over all peoples, because he is the Lord of all peoples.[31] The Christian partner in the dialogue becomes the teacher of his creed, so that the dialogue is nothing other than a real and successful (!) catechumenical preparation for baptism, a typical theme in the genre of the *chansons de geste*.[32] Being so, the Muslim is the typical aspirant catechumen; the Christian, through answers and explanations, is his teacher, who develops the kernel of Christian faith through the three main topics of religious disagreement between Muslims and Christians: Christ as the Son of God, the Trinity, and the Incarnation. Also of key significance here are the issues of crucifixion, resurrection, and ascension. In the dialogue between Roland and Ferracut, the Muslim asks:

[30] John W. Baldwin, 'The Intellectual Preparation for the Canon of 1215 against Ordeals', *Speculum*, 36 (1961), 613–36 (p. 625).

[31] *Der Pseudo-Turpin*, ed. by Hämel, p. 56, ll. 514–18; *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, ed. by Herbers and Santos Noia, p. 208, ll. 16–18.

[32] Especially in chap. 17: *Der Pseudo-Turpin*, ed. by Hämel, p. 63, l. 762 – p. 66, l. 859; *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, ed. by Herbers and Santos Noia, p. 212, l. 1 – p. 213, l. 14. See Cyril Meredith-Jones, 'Vis baptizari?', *Culture*, 24 (1963), 250–73 (pp. 255–73).

'Quis est ille Christus in quem credis?' (Who is that Christ in whom you believe?) and Roland responds: 'Filius [...] Dei patris, qui ex virgine nascitur, cruce patitur, sepulcro sepelitur, et ab inferis tercia die resuscitatur, et ad Dei patris dexteram super celos regreditur' (The son of God the Father, who is born from a virgin, suffers on the Cross, is buried in the tomb, and on the third day he rises from the dead and returns to Heaven above to the right hand of God the Father).[33] It is obvious that in this programme of dialogue, even in the eyes of the fictitious Muslims, conversion and baptism is possible.

Yet these literary dialogues also allow some very interesting insights into a more realistic view of contemporary inter-religious confrontation. The dialogue is the consequence of the indecisive nature of physical confrontation without clear victory on either side, and it provides another form of confrontation before the perennial duel of arms as a new form of theological trial by ordeal. It is possible that the initiative in such an inter-religious dialogue could be taken by the Muslims.[34] Both these chapters contain some explicit presuppositions for effective communication. First, it must take place in the same language (Arabic or Romance).[35] Further, the revised, longer version of the text assumes the equality of rational 'arms' between the two partners. Both sides are expected to use and accept rational argumentation to convince.[36]

Nevertheless, even if convinced by argument, both opponents are persuaded to seek definite decision by physical means. This shift from theological trial by ordeal to judicial ordeal by duel is a relapse into habitual Christian behaviour towards Islam. The apologetic Christian position is very aggressive and destructive, with the ultimate purpose of excluding the pagan Muslim 'other' from the sphere of

[33] *Der Pseudo-Turpin*, ed. by Hämel, p. 63, ll. 764–66; *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, ed. by Herbers and Santos Noia, p. 212, ll. 2–4.

[34] So Aigoland and Ferracut; see chaps 12 and 17: *Der Pseudo-Turpin*, ed. by Hämel, p. 55, ll. 558–59, p. 56, ll. 511–14, and p. 63, ll. 755–56; *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, ed. by Herbers and Santos Noia, p. 208, ll. 13–16, 48–49, and p. 211, l. 46.

[35] See chaps 12 and 17: *Der Pseudo-Turpin*, ed. by Hämel, p. 55, ll. 507–08 and p. 63, ll. 754–55; *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, ed. by Herbers and Santos Noia, p. 208, l. 11 and p. 211, ll. 45–46. Concerning Arabic, see the legend of Charlemagne's youth in Toledo — perhaps a reflection of the historical sejourn of Alfonso VI in that city, but also an indicator of the awareness of the role of this cultural centre of Central Spain; also interesting is the hierarchy of languages (Arabic — Spanish) reflected in the social hierarchy of the partners of dialogue (Arabic — kings; Spanish — warriors).

[36] See the role of analogical thinking in the interpolation in chap. 17: *Der Pseudo-Turpin*, ed. by Hämel, p. 64, ll. 785–94 and p. 66, ll. 853–59; *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, ed. by Herbers and Santos Noia, p. 212, ll. 16–22 and p. 213, ll. 10–14.

creating Christian identity.[37] This position and tone, typical for early crusade chronicles and early epic and popular literature, may reflect the ignorance of the Christian audience at which these literatures were aimed.[38]

Within a single generation there was a fundamental change in attitudes and methods of intellectual confrontation with Islam. This change was connected with a substantial growth of knowledge about the Muslim religion fostered by the first Latin translation of the Koran and other important traditions about Islam.[39] The context of this revolutionary shift to more intellectual or even scientific explanation and refutation of Islam was the journey of Peter the Venerable, abbot

[37] Paganism is expressed, for example, by the Muslim adoration of a statue of Muhammad in Cadiz in chap. 4: *Der Pseudo-Turpin*, ed. by Hämel, p. 45; *Liber Sancti Jacobi*, ed. by Herbers and Santos Noia, p. 203. On this chapter, see René Basset, 'Hercule et Mahomet', *Journal des savants* (July 1903), 391–402.

[38] See the discussion of this point by Carol Sweetenham in her article in this volume, and see also: John V. Tolan, 'Muslims as Pagan Idolaters in Chronicles of the First Crusade', in *Western Views of Islam in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Perception of Other*, ed. by David R. Blanks and Michael Frassetto (New York: St Martin's, 1999), pp. 97–117; José María Ramírez del Río, 'La imagen', p. 152; William Wistar Comfort, 'The Literary Rôle of the Saracens in the French Epic', *PMLA*, 55 (1940), 628–59; Cyril Meredith-Jones, 'The Conventional Saracen of the Songs of Geste', *Speculum*, 17 (1942), 201–25; Juan Vernet, 'El conocimiento del Islam por la cristiandad de Occidente a través de los cántares de gesta', *Boletín da la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona*, 31 (1965–66), 351–54; Barbara P. Edmonds, 'Le Portrait des Sarrasins dans *La Chanson de Roland*', *The French Review*, 44 (1971), 870–80; Carole Bercovi-Huard, 'L'Exclusion du sarrasin dans la 'Chanson de Roland': Vocabulaire et idéologie; "Co est une gent ki unches ben ne volt" (v. 3231)', in *Exclus et systèmes d'exclusion dans la littérature et la civilisation médiévales*, Sénéfiance, 5 (Aix-en-Provence: CUERMA, 1978), pp. 345–61; Micheline de Combarieu, 'Portraits et attitudes des "Sarrasins" dans les chansons de geste (des origines à 1250): Stéréotypes littéraires et vérité humaine', *Marche Romane*, 31 (1981), 61–100; Paul Bancourt, *Les Musulmans dans les chansons de geste du Cycle du Roi*, 2 vols (Aix-en-Provence: Université de Provence, 1982), II, 1004–11 (summary); Matthew Bennett, 'First Crusaders' Images of Muslims: The Influence of Vernacular Poetry?', *Forum for Modern Language Studies*, 22 (1986), 101–22; Emmanuel Filhol, 'L'Image des Sarrasins dans les textes chrétiens (de la 'Chanson de Roland' à la 'Chronique du Pseudo-Turpin')', in *L'Occident musulman et l'Occident chrétien au moyen âge*, ed. by Mohammed Hammam (Rabat: Faculté des Lettres et des Sciences Humaines, 1995), pp. 223–39.

[39] This Latin translation of the Koran is only available in Theodor Bibliander, *Machumetis Saracenorum principis [...] Alcoran [...]* (Basel: Oporinus, 1543; repr. 1550), pp. 8–188. José Martínez Gázquez (Barcelona) is preparing the critical edition of this first Latin version of the Koran. For the accompanying Latin texts and Peters's refutation of Islam, see *Peter the Venerable and Islam*, ed. by James Kritzeck (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964), pp. 204–91; *Petrus Venerabilis, Schriften zum Islam*, ed. by Reinhold Glei, Corpus Islamo-Christianum series latina, 1 (Altenberge: CIS, 1985), pp. 2–238.

of Cluny, to the Iberian Peninsula in 1142 with the purpose of visiting the houses of his congregation there.[40] In this year Peter came into contact with professional translators of Arabic astronomical literature working in the Ebro valley. The abbot was able to persuade a group of prolific translators — not without massive effort and financial investment: 'magno studio et impensis'[41] — of the value of his project of translating the Koran and other authentic and legendary material on Muhammad and Islam, assembled in the so-called *Collectio Toletana*. Robert of Ketton was responsible for translating the Koran and the *Chronica mendosa et ridicula Sarracenorum*, Hermann of Dalmatia for the *Liber generationis Mahumet et nutritura eius* and *Doctrina Mahomet*, while Muhammad, an otherwise unknown Muslim, had to oversee these translations, especially that of the Koran. Peter of Toledo made the translation of the *Epistola Saraceni et Rescriptum Christiani*, the so-called *Pseudo-al Kindī*. The redactor of the whole collection, who sent the translated Koran with a letter of dedication to Peter the Venerable in 1143, was the abbot's secretary Peter of Poitiers.

It is interesting to see that this quantum leap in Christian–Islamic encounters was made in a seemingly traditional Benedictine milieu, not in the highly esteemed progressive clerical or canonical circles of the new intellectual schools. I suggest that this was due to the critical situation of the Cluniac congregation in Latin Christendom in the 1130s and 1140s. It is well known that one of Peter's main aims in this period was internal reform via his *Statuta*, discussed in general

[40] Charles Julian Bishko, 'Peter the Venerable's Journey to Spain', in *Petrus Venerabilis, 1156–1956: Studies and Texts Commemorating the Eighth Centenary of His Death*, ed. by Giles Constable and James Kritzeck, Studia Anselmiana, 40 (Roma: Orbis catholicus, 1956), pp. 163–75 (repr. Charles Julian Bishko, *Spanish and Portuguese Monastic History, 600–1300* (London: Variorum, 1984), no. XII); Damien van den Eynde, 'Les Principaux voyages de Pierre le Vénérable', *Benedictina*, 15 (1968), 58–110 (pp. 95–100); Charles Julian Bishko, 'Peter the Venerable's Traverse of Spain: Some Further Observations', in Bishko, *Spanish and Portuguese Monastic History*, no. XIII; Jean-Pierre Torrell and Denise Bouthillier, *Pierre le Vénérable et sa vision du monde: Sa vie — son œuvre: L'homme et le demon* (Leuven: Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense, 1986), pp. 59–67.

[41] *Summa totius haeresis Saracenorum*, § 18: 'magno studio et impensis totam impiam sectam eiusque pessimi inventoris exsecrabilem vitam de Arabico in Latinum transferri ac denudatam ad nostrorum notitiam venire feci', *Peter the Venerable*, ed. by Kritzeck, pp. 204–11 (p. 210, l. 34 – p. 211, l. 1); *Petrus Venerabilis*, ed. by Glei, pp. 2–22 (p. 20, l. 3–6); *Epistola de translatione sua*, § 2: 'multo pretio', *Peter the Venerable*, ed. by Kritzeck, pp. 212–14 (p. 212, l. 29); *Petrus Venerabilis*, ed. by Glei, pp. 22–28 (p. 24, l. 22); *Contra sectam Saracenorum*, prologue: 'tam prece quam pretio', *Peter the Venerable*, ed. by Kritzeck, pp. 220–91 (p. 229, l. 8); *Petrus Venerabilis*, ed. by Glei, pp. 30–224 (p. 54, ll. 16–17).

assemblies of the 'ecclesia Cluniacensis' between 1132 and 1146.[42] But what is much less often recognized is that Peter was at the same time aiming at an external reform of Cluny by claiming as his intellectual territory the vast field of polemics against all imaginable enemies of Christianity. In the eyes of Dominique Iogna-Prat, this intellectual fight against heretics, Jews, and Muslims was one single huge ecclesiological project.[43] I would also argue that it was in the first instance a means to reverse the defensive position into which Cluny had been pushed by the dramatic growth in influence of Cîteaux under Bernard of Clairvaux.[44]

Certainly, there were no fundamental differences between *Pseudo-Turpin* and Peter the Venerable in their aims. Both intended the destruction of Islam. But there were considerable differences in their manner of confronting this religious phenomenon in the regions around the Mediterranean Sea. On the one hand, there was the more theoretical and literary mode of behaviour of *Pseudo-Turpin*; on the other side the more practical one of Peter the Venerable. The fundamental change that Peter initiated for the future centuries of anti-Islamic Christian apologetics was a translation of the central literary inheritance of Islam (the Koran and the pseudo-Islamic traditions on Muhammad) into the Latin sphere of patristic and medieval knowledge. He intended to abolish the heretical errors of Islam and its 'pseudoprophet' by establishing the Christian truth on this new basis, through reason and rational argumentation. This innovative approach was

[42] 'Statuta Petri Venerabilis abbatis Cluniacensis IX (1146–7)', ed. by Giles Constable, in *Consuetudines Benedictinae variae (saec. XI–saec. XIV)*, Corpus consuetudinum monasticarum, 6 (Siegburg: Schmitt, 1975), pp. 39–106.

[43] Dominique Iogna-Prat, *Ordonner et exclure: Cluny et la société chrétienne face à l'hérésie, au judaïsme et à l'islam, 1000–1150* (Paris: Aubier, 1998; 2000), pp. 324–59; John V. Tolan, 'Peter the Venerable on the "Diabolical Heresy of the Saracens"', in *The Devil, Heresy and Witchcraft in the Middle Ages: Essays in Honor of Jeffrey B. Russell*, ed. by Alberto Ferreiro (Leiden: Brill, 1998), pp. 345–67. Peter wrote his *Contra Petrobrusianos haereticos*, a treatise against the sect of Peter of Bruis and the adherents under his follower Henry of Lausanne, in 1139/40: *Petri Venerabilis Contra Petrobrusianos hereticos*, ed. by James Fearns, CCCM, 10 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1968), pp. 3–165; he completed his *Adversus Iudaeorum inveteratam duritiem* between 1143/4 and 1146/7: *Petri Venerabilis Adversus Iudaeorum inveteratam duritiem*, ed. by Yvonne Friedman, CCCM, 58 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1985), pp. 1–187.

[44] The evidence for my opinion is Peter's great letter no. 111, written between spring and summer 1144, inviting Bernard of Clairvaux to the Cluniac reform project: in *The Letters of Peter the Venerable*, ed. by Giles Constable, Harvard Historical Studies, 78, 2 vols (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1967), I, 1–450 (pp. 274–99). For a recent interpretation of this letter, see Gillian R. Knight, *The Correspondence between Peter the Venerable and Bernard of Clairvaux: A Semantic and Structural Analysis* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2002), pp. 101–53.

the perfect refinement of medieval understanding of what the story of David and Goliath had to teach Christians about destruction of Islam by its own weapons.

But the abbot of Cluny had the same problems of definition of Islam and its prophet Muhammad (whether this established rival of Christianity was a heresy or a new religion) as his patristic ancestors had when confronted with the heresies and pagan movements of Antiquity. In Peter's eyes, Muslims were worse than pagans because of the mixture of Jewish and Christian aspects in their religion. The scandal was that this extremely dangerous heresy had received no Christian answer until his own times. As he wrote in chapter 17 of his *Summa totius haeresis Saracenorum*:

> Quia scilicet cum omnes sive antiquas sive modernas haereses usque ad nostra tempora respondendo confutaverit [sc. ecclesia], huic soli, quae super omnes alias tam in corporibus quam in animabus infinitam humani generis stragem dedit, non solum nihil respondit, sed nec quid tanta pestis esset aut unde processerit inquirere saltem vel tenuiter studuit.[45]
>
> (Although until our own times [the Church] has silenced by rebuttal all heresies both ancient and modern, she not only has made no response to this one heresy alone, which has slaughtered, above all other heresies, an infinite number of the human race both in body and soul, but does not even simply seek to enquire what such a great pestilence might be or from where it proceeds.)

Again, he wrote in the Prologue of his *Contra sectam Saracenorum*: 'Quae ergo nullam vel parvam haeresim intactam praeteriit, numquid hunc omnium errorum maximum errorem torpens vel muta Christiana lingua transibit?' (as the Christian tongue has not left even small heresies untouched, surely she will not pass over this error, greatest of all errors, without acting or speaking?).[46] But Peter realized the problem of missing knowledge because of the absence of linguistic competence: 'Nam non erat qui responderet, quia non erat qui agnosceret' (for there is no one to respond to them, because there is no one to recognize what they are).[47]

In this respect, Peter was a self-confident traditionalist, articulating the voice of orthodoxy in the face of heresy. The real achievement of Peter was to understand that his intended virtual dialogue with Muslims who would read his apologetic treatise in a translated Arabic version had to be based on a profound knowledge

[45] *Peter the Venerable*, ed. by Kritzeck, pp. 204–11 (p. 210, ll. 26–31); *Petrus Venerabilis*, ed. by Glei, pp. 2–22 (p. 20, ll. 6–12).

[46] *Peter the Venerable*, ed. by Kritzeck, pp. 220–91 (p. 226, ll. 25–28); *Petrus Venerabilis*, ed. by Glei, pp. 30–224 (p. 46, ll. 17–19).

[47] *Peter the Venerable*, ed. by Kritzeck, p. 229, l. 4; *Petrus Venerabilis*, ed. by Glei, p. 54, l. 11.

of the authentic texts and traditions of Islam. As he wrote in the Prologue of his *Contra sectam Saracenorum*: 'Poterit, inquam, quod scriptum fuerit in eorum linguam transferri, poterit Christiana veritas in litteras Arabicas vel quaslibet alias commutari, sicut potuit nefandus error ad Latinorum notitiam meo studio transmigrare' (It is possible, I say, for the Scriptures to be translated into their language, it is possible for Christian truth to be changed into Arabic letters or any you like, just as through my efforts their unspeakable error could enter the knowledge of Latin readers).[48] In contrast to other contemporary approaches — for example, that of Bernard of Clairvaux and his more traditional concept of preaching the crusade against the Muslims,[49] Peter's elaborated intellectual concept meant a dramatic change of attitude towards Islam.

Of equal practical importance was Peter's strategic concept of a double approach in text and language for the refutation of Islam. Whereas the *Summa totius haeresis Saracenorum*, composed *c.* 1144, was a short phenomenological introduction to Islam and its founder Muhammad, written in a very polemical tone for the audience of French and Iberian Cluniac monks,[50] the proper refutation of Islam, *Contra sectam Saracenorum*, composed after 1148, which is the principal work of Peter's engagement with Islam, was intended to be translated for Muslim readers in the Iberian Peninsula. It was therefore written in a very sensible and reasonable way.[51] In his prologue to the work, Peter even accep-

[48] *Peter the Venerable*, ed. by Kritzeck, p. 229, ll. 27–30; *Petrus Venerabilis*, ed. by Glei, p. 56, ll. 1–5.

[49] See Albrecht Noth, *Heiliger Krieg und Heiliger Kampf in Islam und Christentum: Beiträge zur Vorgeschichte und Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*, Bonner Historische Studien, 28 (Bonn: Röhrscheid, 1966), pp. 143–46, who nevertheless detects some possible knowledge of the (translated) Koran in Bernard's preaching. See also André Seguin, 'Bernard et la seconde croisade', in *Bernard de Clairvaux*, Commission d'histoire de l'Ordre de Cîteaux, 3 (Paris: Alsatia, 1953), pp. 379–409 (pp. 393–403); Étienne Delaruelle, 'L'Idée de croisade chez saint Bernard', in *Mélanges Saint Bernard: XXIV^e Congrès de l'Association bourguignonne des Sociétés Savantes (8^e Centenaire de la mort de saint Bernard)* (Dijon: Marilier, 1954), pp. 53–67; Eugène Willems, 'Cîteaux et la seconde croisade', *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, 49 (1954), 116–51 (pp. 125–37); Peter Dinzelbacher, *Bernhard von Clairvaux: Leben und Werk des berühmten Zisterziensers*, Gestalten des Mittelalters und der Renaissance (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1998), pp. 284–307.

[50] *Peter the Venerable*, ed. by Kritzeck, pp. 204–11; *Petrus Venerabilis*, ed. by Glei, pp. 2–22; see Iogna-Prat, *Ordonner et exclure*, pp. 339–42.

[51] *Peter the Venerable*, ed. by Kritzeck, pp. 220–91; *Petrus Venerabilis*, ed. by Glei, pp. 30–224; see Jean-Pierre Torrell, 'La Notion de prophétie et la méthode apologétique dans le "Contra Saracenos" de Pierre le Vénérable', *Studia monastica*, 17 (1975), 257–82 (repr. as Jean-Pierre Torrell, *Recherches sur la théorie de la prophétie au moyen âge, XII^e–XIV^e siècles: Études*

ted the possibility of non-reception by the intended Muslim audience. In this case, his work could be used as an apologetic aid for Christians who were involved in inter-religious conflict or dialogue. As he wrote in the Prologue of his *Contra sectam Saracenorum*: 'Si quod forte haec de qua agitur scriptura aut interpretes non habuerit aut translata non profuerit, habebit saltem Christianum armarium etiam adversus hos hostes arma, quibus aut se muniat aut quibus, si forte ad certamen ventum fuerit, inimicos confodiat' (If perhaps these writings do not find translators or the translation is not useful, at least the Christian armoury will have weapons against these enemies as well, with which they may either defend themselves or, if it comes to a fight, stab their foes).[52]

Peter's intended visit to Santiago de Compostela was not a necessary precondition for an exact knowledge of the latest views of the duel of arms and the duel of words within the encounter with Iberian Muslims, written under the shadow of the tomb of St James. This general Christian conflict of complementary options was too prominent not to have been followed in detail by the Abbot of Cluny. Nevertheless, his substantially enlarged knowledge of Islam allowed Peter to focus central aspects of *Pseudo-Turpin*'s discussion about Islam on the question of the Muslims' readiness for physical or intellectual power. Probably under the influence of the recently translated *Pseudo-al Kindī*, Peter stated that Muhammad had spread his mistaken belief not like other heretics, through peaceful arguments, but by means of violence and war. He stated in the Prologue to his *Contra sectam Saracenorum*:

> Hinc non miti ratione, sed violenta incursione toto fere ut dictum est armis Oriente subacto Aegyptum, Libyam Africamque universam profanae religioni subiecit, et sic duabus mundi partibus occupatis nec tertiam, quae Europa vocatur, Hispania pervasa Christo vel Christianis suis integram dereliquit.
>
> (Hence, not with gentle reason but by violent incursion, almost all, as it is said, of the Orient was subjugated by arms; he subjected Egypt, Libya, and the whole of Africa to his godless religion, and having thus occupied two-thirds of the world, he did not leave the third, which is called Europe, unharmed to Christ and the Christians, but invaded Spain).[53]

et texts, Dokimion, 13 (Fribourg: Fribourg University Press, 1992), pp. 75–100); Torrell and Bouthillier, *Pierre le Vénérable*, pp. 180–95.

[52] *Peter the Venerable*, ed. by Kritzeck, p. 230, ll. 6–10; *Petrus Venerabilis*, ed. by Glei, p. 56, ll. 1–5.

[53] *Peter the Venerable*, ed. by Kritzeck, p. 226, ll. 16–21; *Petrus Venerabilis*, ed. by Glei, p. 46, ll. 7–12.

This matched Peter's explicit criticism later in the same work of Muhammad's prohibiting his followers by violence from participating in dialogues with followers of a different faith.[54] But Peter formulated his reproach within a presentation of the Christian conception of man that necessarily confirmed the Muslims' equality of premises for the dialogue of faiths, because both sides made practical use of reason within philosophy and natural sciences.[55] On the basis of the universal commandment to love God and one's neighbour as oneself,[56] Peter justified his rational presentation of arguments by observing the peaceableness of all sensible creatures and the intelligence of all human beings.[57] In his eyes, this natural equality of Christians and Muslims was the most important precondition for arguing with the religious 'other'. Human intelligence makes the opposing person a persuadeable partner in a rational dialogue. Everyone, being embued with reason and using reason within the sciences, is longing for rational debate, because he is seeking for certainty in his created world, which can only be secured by the knowledge of the truth of this world. To reach this truth, all existing opinions should be examined and debated.[58] Moreover, beyond the created world, the connection between the examination of opinions and

[54] *Contra sectam Saracenorum*, I, § 29: 'Audiatis ideo dico, quia, quod valde mirum est, si tamen verum est, nullum contra morem vobis assuetum, nullum contra vestras patrias leges agere volentem, nullum contra ritus ab ipso quem supra nominavi vestro propheta vobis traditos disputare quaerentem vos velle audire audivi. Et non solum vos hoc nullo velle audire accepi, sed ut ipsa loquendi primordia lapidibus aut gladiis vel quolibet alio mortis genere obstruatis, vobis lege praeceptum ab Oriente vestro ad Occidentem nostrum fama diffusa fatetur', *Peter the Venerable*, ed. by Kritzeck, p. 233, ll. 25–33; *Petrus Venerabilis*, ed. by Glei, p. 68, ll. 5–14. See also *Contra sectam Saracenorum*, I, § 33: 'lex Mahumetica os obturabit aut, si quid forte contra eam dixero, vix primis verbis elapsis caput secabit? [...] lex inquam talis, quae prohibet audiri contra vos disputantem, quae pati non potest ratione praevia contra vestros ut creditur errores agentem?', *Peter the Venerable*, ed. by Kritzeck, p. 236, ll. 2–3 and 14–16; *Petrus Venerabilis*, ed. by Glei, p. 74, ll. 9–10 and 22–24.

[55] *Contra sectam Saracenorum*, I, § 29, 30, and 59: 'Et o homines, homines inquam, non solum natura rationales, sed et ingenio et arte rationabiles [...] viri iuxta scientiam saecularem prudentes [...] o prudentes iuxta carnem viri', *Peter the Venerable*, ed. by Kritzeck, p. 233, ll. 22–23, p. 233, l. 34 and p. 249, l. 10; *Petrus Venerabilis*, ed. by Glei, p. 66, ll. 1–2, p. 68, l. 1 and p. 110, l. 1.

[56] *Contra sectam Saracenorum*, I, § 24 in *Peter the Venerable*, ed. by Kritzeck, p. 231, l. 24 – p. 232, l. 6; *Petrus Venerabilis*, ed. by Glei, p. 62, ll. 6–22.

[57] *Contra sectam Saracenorum*, I, § 25 in *Peter the Venerable*, ed. by Kritzeck, p. 232; *Petrus Venerabilis*, ed. by Glei, p. 64.

[58] *Contra sectam Saracenorum*, I, §§ 30–31 in *Peter the Venerable*, ed. by Kritzeck, pp. 233–35; *Petrus Venerabilis*, ed. by Glei, pp. 68–70.

the establishment of the truth holds most true when attempting to establish the truth about what is uncreated before all created things and what is called 'God' by all peoples.[59] No intelligent human being and scientist can therefore avoid questioning the ultimate truth; rather, he must search for this deepest insight, because refusing the search for the ultimate truth means acknowledging that he supports a wrong position.[60] Because of Muhammad's contradictory commandment to prefer violence, even murder, to the dialogue of faith, the so-called prophet must, according to Peter, have propagated a mistaken belief.[61] In accordance with these premises, Peter wants to tackle this 'law-maker' ('legislator') and his 'legislation' ('legislatio') in the course of the further work.[62]

In contrast to *Pseudo-Turpin*, Peter thus underlines the obligatory, rather than the possible, use of reason. The use of physical force as 'ultima ratio' does not even merit mention anywhere in his work. Relapsing into former modes of violence is considered only as the 'ultima ratio' of the apologist-martyr of patristic times when defending his orthodox Christian faith against heretical beliefs.[63] Peter's diametrically different concept of readiness for intellectual or physical force is a result of his different audience and the literary genre of his public. Whereas *Pseudo-Turpin* aims at the mainly lay persons visiting Santiago de Compostela and at the potential crusaders of the Reconquista, Peter's primary addressees are the learned monks of his own Benedictine congregation. In his opinion, not lay men (kings and warriors) like Charlemagne and Roland, but monks (abbots) like himself should hold discussions with the religious 'other'. For this purpose they

[59] *Contra sectam Saracenorum*, I, §§ 32–33 in *Peter the Venerable*, ed. by Kritzeck, pp. 235–36; *Petrus Venerabilis*, ed. by Glei, pp. 72–74.

[60] *Contra sectam Saracenorum*, I, § 34 in *Peter the Venerable*, ed. by Kritzeck, pp. 236–37; *Petrus Venerabilis*, ed. by Glei, pp. 74–76.

[61] *Contra sectam Saracenorum*, I, §§ 35–48 in *Peter the Venerable*, ed. by Kritzeck, pp. 237–43; *Petrus Venerabilis*, ed. by Glei, pp. 76–94.

[62] *Contra sectam Saracenorum*, I, § 49: 'necesse mihi erit et contra vestrum legislatorem et contra ipsius legislationem verbis materiei congruentibus agere', *Peter the Venerable*, ed. by Kritzeck, p. 244, ll. 6–8; *Petrus Venerabilis*, ed. by Glei, p. 96, ll. 22–24.

[63] See *Contra sectam Saracenorum*, prologue: 'causa fuit scribendi, pro qua in hostes Christianae salutis non solum verbis librisque invecti sunt, sed nec suis nec sibi nec ipsi tandem vitae propriae pepercerunt', *Peter the Venerable*, ed. by Kritzeck, p. 224, ll. 31–33; *Petrus Venerabilis*, ed. by Glei, p. 42, ll. 11–14; *Contra sectam Saracenorum*, prologue: 'Quem [sc. "Victorinum Pitabionensem episcopum et martyrem"] utrum in scribendo imitari posteri debeant, non solum doctrina sed et martyrio quod ad extremum pro fide quam defenderat passus est, lector advertat', *Peter the Venerable*, ed. by Kritzeck, p. 225, ll. 16–18; *Petrus Venerabilis*, ed. by Glei, p. 44, ll. 14–17.

surely need a common linguistic basis (Arabic), but the unchanged condition of the dialogue is the general dominance of the Christian viewpoint within it. Peter's dialogue is no longer the fictitious performance of the most important biblical dialogue of faith, implemented in a legendary epic of Iberian history: his intended dialogue will be the consequence of a real theological treatise which is offering argument through means of human reason.

Peter is not offering a non-violent intellectual alternative to war and crusade;[64] if the Muslims refuse to receive his work, he wants to provide the Christian minority, living in the most recently reconquered Muslim regions of northern Spain, with an apologetic guide to rational argument against the Muslims remaining there.[65] This is not surprising, as these were exactly the regions of the main Clunicac activities at the time of Peter's visit to Spain,[66] where the last wave of Mozarabic émigrés to the Christian North in the 1140s fled because of the change of rule in the Muslim South from the Almoravids to the Almohads. Peter, a strong supporter of monastic Reform, believed that the latent danger of a new syncretism of belief had to be prevented in the emerging Christian realms of northern Iberian Peninsula. Peter's change of literary genres and audiences is a change of paradigm within the intellectual struggle against Islam: it is the shift from history to theology that indicates the growing clerical and anthropological constriction and professionalization of debating religious 'otherness' in the High Middle Ages, exactly the developments which Ramon Llull was to question in the following century.

Despite its significant intellectual advances in Christian discussion of Islam, the transmission of Peter's works within and beyond the so-called *Collectio Toletana* in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was almost non-existent. The only manuscript of the *Collectio Toletana* from the twelfth century known today

[64] This opinion was articulated by Jean Leclercq, *Pierre le Vénérable* (Saint-Wandrille: Éd. de Fontenelle, 1946), pp. 241–52; Marie-Thérèse d'Alverny, 'Deux traductions latines du Coran au moyen âge', *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge*, 16 (1947–48), 69–131 (repr. in *La Connaissance de l'Islam*, no. 1) (p. 70).

[65] See Gabriella Braga, 'Le prefazioni alle traduzioni dall'arabo nella Spagna del XII secolo. La valle dell'Ebro', in *La diffusione delle scienze islamiche nel medio evo europeo: Convegno internazionale, Roma, 2–4 ottobre 1984*, ed. by Biancamaria Scarcia Amoretti, Pubblicazioni della Fondazione Leone Caetani, [20] (Roma: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, 1987), pp. 323–54 (p. 331).

[66] See Peter Segl, *Königtum und Klosterreform in Spanien: Untersuchungen über die Cluniacenserklöster in Kastilien-León vom Beginn des 11. bis zur Mitte des 12. Jahrhunderts* (Kallmünz: Lassleben, 1974), p. 220.

is the original Cluniac codex.[67] In contrast to this meagre situation, the much less elaborate version of dialogue transmitted in *Pseudo-Turpin*, with its very aggressive tone, received a much wider reception, surviving in more than fifteen Latin manuscripts of the twelfth century alone (in addition to the many adaptations and vernacular versions from the late twelfth century onward).[68] This is comparable to the situation of Peter Alfonsi, whose *Dialogus contra Iudaeos*, written in around 1110 and discussing both the Jews and Islam, became a veritable bestseller of anti-Jewish (and anti-Muslim) literature in the twelfth century, with at least twenty five manuscripts surviving from this period.[69] This landscape of

[67] Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 1162. On the importance of considering the very limited diffusion of all Peter's antiheretical works for an historical assessment of his position within ecclesiastical history, see Isabelle Cochelin, 'Orders and Exclusions', *Early Medieval Europe*, 13 (2005), 395–403 (pp. 397–98: on *Contra Petrobrusianos haereticos*, *Adversus Iudaeorum inveteratam duritiem*, and *Contra sectam Saracenorum*). I wish to express my thanks to José Martínez Gázquez for reviewing my list of manuscripts of the *Collectio Toletana* (29 March 2006).

[68] See Hämel, 'Los manuscritos latinos'; de Mandach, *Naissance*, pp. 364–98. The surviving manuscripts are (* = my addition): Barcelona, Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, MS Ripoll 99 (Ripoll); Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert I^{er}, MS II 2541 (Saint-Martin/Tournai); Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 318 (Rochester); Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 292 (provenance unknown); *Charleville, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 190 (Signy); Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 649 (389) (Cîteaux); Den Haag, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS X. 68 (provenance unknown); Lisboa, Biblioteca Nacional, MS Alcobaça 334 (CCCII) (Santa Maria/Alcobaça); Montpellier, Bibliothèque interuniversitaire, MS 39 (provenance unknown); Montpellier, Bibliothèque interuniversitaire, MS 78 (provenance unknown); Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 13775 (Saint-Germain-des-Prés/Paris); Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 17656 (Saint-Denis); Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 14703 (Saint-Victor/Paris); Santiago de Compostela, Archivo del Cabildo de la Catedral, s. n. (Santiago); Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale Universitaria, MS I. V. 36. (provenance unknown); Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 516 (provenance unknown); Wien, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, MS 4387 (provenance unknown).

[69] Peter Alfonsi, *Dialogus contra Iudaeos*, in *Pedro Alfonso de Huesca, Diálogo contra los Judíos*, ed. by Klaus-Peter Mieth, Larumbe, 9 (Huesca: Instituto de Estudios Altoaragoneses, 1996), pp. 5–193 (pp. 91–103); and see my discussion of this text: Matthias M. Tischler, 'Der iberische Grenzraum: Drei frühe Entwürfe zum Islam aus Exegese und Theologie', in *Mittelalter im Labor: Die Mediävistik testet Wege zu einer transkulturellen Europawissenschaft*, ed. by Michael Borgolte and others, Europa im Mittelalter: Abhandlungen und Beiträge zur historischen Komparatistik, 10 (Berlin: Akademie, 2008), pp. 95–116 (pp. 97–102). See also John V. Tolan, *Petrus Alfonsi and his Medieval Readers* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1993), pp. 182–98; and Wolfram Drews's discussion in this volume. The surviving manuscripts are (* = my addition): Arras, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 1016 (432) (Saint-Vaast); Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, MS Phillipps 1721 (Meerman 521) (France); Bern,

transmission and reception on the one hand raises the question of the participation of the intellectual and lay public in the texts. On the other hand, the dates of these texts raise the question of a really fundamental change of behaviour in Christian–Islamic approaches from the twelfth to thirteenth centuries. Despite the groundbreaking nature of Peter the Venerable's endeavour, his work did not change the attitudes of most of his contemporaries, who preferred to read and use *Pseudo-Turpin* and its superficial argumentation, reiterated in many later vernacular texts. Peter's public was not the wider laity but the inner circle of Cluniac monasticism, and his initiative seems never to have been officially published, and therefore remained forgotten for a long time in the monastic library of Cluny.

Burgerbibliothek, MS 111 (Metz); Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS 188 (Sainte-Marie/Metz); Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS McClean Collection 120 (England); Cambridge, St John's College, MS 107 (olim E. 4) (provenance unknown); (†) Chartres, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 127 (130) (Saint-Père/Chartres); Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 230 (192) (Cîteaux); Douai, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 199 (Anchin); Hereford, Cathedral Library, MS P. II. 4 (*St. Peter's Abbey/Gloucester); Köln, Erzbischöfliche Diözesan- und Dombibliothek, MS 78. II (Germany); Lisboa, Biblioteca Nacional, MS Alcobaça CCXLI/148 (Santa María/Alcobaça); London, British Library, MS Harley 3707 (France); London, British Library, MS Harley 3861 (England?); Montpellier, Bibliothèque interuniversitaire, MS H 413 (Fontenay); München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 17105 (Schäftlarn); Oxford, Jesus College, MS 11 (Evesham); Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 769 (Saint-Victor/Paris); Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 5080 (Fécamp); Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 10624 (*Braine-sur-Vesle?); Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 10722 (*England); Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 14069 (Saint-Germain-des-Prés/Paris); Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 15009 (Saint-Victor/Paris); Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS lat. 18104 (Chartres or Bec); Santo Domingo de la Calzada, Biblioteca Capitular, MS 2 (*Northern France or England); *Tarragona, Biblioteca Pública (Provincial), MS 55 (126) (Santes Creus).

Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada and his *Historia Arabum*: An Extraordinary Example of Inter-cultural Tolerance?*

Matthias Maser

The integration of citizens with alien cultural or religious backgrounds and identities has become a vital question for many modern societies, not only as the consequence of an intensified globalization and the allegedly imminent threat of a 'clash of civilizations'.[1] In view of current societal and political challenges, models of cultural pluralism and multi-cultural coexistence in pre-modern times are now arousing scholarly interest. In particular the medieval Iberian Peninsula has been discovered as a fruitful field of research in this respect. With its remarkable '*convivencia*'[2] of different religions, languages, and civilizations, medieval Hispania seems to provide a historic example of successful multicultural coexistence. Besides — or may be even before — concrete legal or administrative regulation, this *convivencia* was based on mentalities: the

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[1] Samuel P. Huntington, *The Clash of Civilizations and the Remaking of World Order* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996). Huntington's theses have been heavily criticized: see, for example, Gazi Çağlar, *Der Mythos vom Krieg der Zivilisationen: Der Westen gegen den Rest der Welt; eine Replik auf Samuel P. Huntingtons 'Kampf der Kulturen'* (Münster: Unrast, 2002).

[2] The term and the concept 'convivencia' were originally introduced into academic debate by Américo Castro in his study: *España en su historia: Cristianos, Moros y Judíos* (Buenos Aires: Losada, 1948; repr. Barcelona: Crítica, 1983). For a critical revision, see Maja Soifer, 'Beyond convivencia: Critical Reflections on the Historiography of Interfaith Relations in Christian Spain', *Journal of Medieval Iberian Studies*, 1 (2009), 19–35.

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collective self-perceptions of the different cultural communities as well as their images of each other deeply influenced the forms and patterns of daily social intercourse. Historiography in particular is a key source for the study of such collective mentalities and their effects on intercultural communication. As a major instrument for the construction of collective identities, historical narratives of a community's common past — real or fictitious — demarcate the 'self' from the 'other' and thus define the relations between them. In this respect as in many others, the unique *Historia Arabum*[3] of the Toledan Archbishop Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada (1208–47) deserves attention. In this work, a part of his larger *History of Spain*, he produced a history of the Arabs of al-Andalus which scholars have noted for its tolerance and objectivity. In this article, I will explore the origins, sources, and nature of the *Historia Arabum* and ask how far this work really is an example of inter-cultural tolerance.

Rodrigo Jiménez was born in Navarre in *c.* 1170.[4] As a young man he spent several years abroad studying law and theology in Bologna and Paris respectively, though to all appearance he did not graduate formally. After his return to the Iberian Peninsula he made a short career in the 'diplomatic service' of King Alphonse VIII of Castile before he was elected archbishop of Toledo in late 1208. From the very beginning of his episcopacy in 1209, Rodrigo was confronted with three major subjects which would absorb him for decades: first, the military 'Reconquest'; second, the political and ecclesiastical 're'-integration of the conquered territories into the Christian realm of Castile and, last, the dispute between the 'old' and the 'restored' archbishoprics over episcopal primacy in Spain. All three fields of action shaped the mind and thoughts of Rodrigo and so surely left their traces in his historiographical models and conceptions.

In 1212 Rodrigo played a leading role in the organization of the 'crusade' of Las Navas de Tolosa, which resulted in the decisive Christian victory over the Almohads in Iberia. A whole book of his *Historia de rebus Hispanie* is dedicated to this key event, which Rodrigo himself considered to be a turning point in

[3] *Historia Arabum*, in *Roderici Ximenii de Rada, Opera omnia, pars III: Roderici Ximenii de Rada Historiae Minores (et) Dialogus Vitae*, ed. by Juan Fernández Valverde, CCCM, 72C (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), pp. 87–149 [henceforth cited as *Historia Arabum*].

[4] For the political biography of Rodrigo Jiménez, see Juan Fernández Valverde, 'Introducción', in *Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada: Historia de los hechos de España* (Madrid: Alianza 1989), pp. 1–55; Javier Gorrosteratzu, *Don Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada: Gran estadista, escritor y prelado* (Pamplona: Bescansa, 1925); see also Lucy K. Pick, *Conflict and Coexistence: Archbishop Rodrigo and the Muslims and Jews of Medieval Spain* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004), pp. 21–70, passim.

the centuries-long history of Christian-Muslim confrontation. The 'road of revenge' was now opened to the Christians and would, within Rodrigo's lifetime, eventually lead to the fall of the city of Córdoba (in 1236), so emblematic for the Muslim domination of Spain. Until 1230 Rodrigo regularly joined the kings' campaigns against al-Andalus. Usually he acted as a spiritual shepherd for the troops, celebrating mass before battle, preaching, and assuring the king and his soldiers of God's favour towards their 'bellum Dei'[5]; but in 1218 and 1219 he personally took the military command. However, for Rodrigo the struggle against the Muslim enemy was not only to be fought with physical weapons but also with the arms of the word. As early as 1209, he commissioned a translation of the Koran in order to demonstrate the 'falsity' of the Islamic creed.[6] Before him only one other western Christian — Abbot Peter the Venerable of Cluny — had shown such interest in the authentic foundational scriptures of the enemy religion. It is not clear whether this Latin Koran was meant as an instrument for the Christian mission among the Muslims in which Rodrigo himself was involved only indirectly: in the 1220s, on papal instruction, he sent several Dominican friars to the Muslim territories and consecrated bishops *in partibus paganorum* whose main function, however, seems to have been pastoral care for the diaspora

[5] So, for example, in 1212: *Historia de rebus Hispanie sive Historia Gothica*, in *Roderici Ximenii de Rada, Opera omnia, pars I*, ed. by Juan Fernández Valverde, CCCM, 72 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1987), bk VIII, chap. 10 (pp. 272–73, ll. 12–25). However, Rodrigo's role in the Las Navas campaign was not restricted to merely pastoral functions; he also made use of his juridical competences as archbishop in order to steer military operations and strategies. Immediately after the Christian victory he imposed anathema on everyone who in the hope of booty abandoned the pursuit of the routed Almohad enemy: see *Historia de rebus Hispanie*, in *Roderici Ximenii*, ed. by Valverde, bk VIII, chap. 11 (p. 275, ll. 26–36). Only a few days later he vetoed an already-negotiated 'honorable' capitulation of the Muslim garrison of Ubeda, who had been promised safe conduct, as being against canon law, which — according to Rodrigo — prohibited any conclusion of contracts between Christians and the 'infidels'. Thereupon the city was stormed by the crusader troops and all the Muslim inhabitants were either slain or enslaved: see *Historia de rebus Hispanie*, in *Roderici Ximenii*, ed. by Valverde, bk VIII, chap. 12 (p. 276, ll. 18–26).

[6] José Martínez Gázquez, 'Trois traductions médiévales latines du Coran: Pierre le Vénérable, Robert de Ketton, Marc de Tolède et Jean de Segobia', *Revue des Études latines*, 80 (2002), 223–36; Marie Thérèse d'Alverny, 'Marc de Tolède', in *Estudios sobre Alfonso VI y la reconquista de Toledo: Actas del II congreso internacional de Estudios Mozárabes, Toledo, 20–26 Mayo 1985*, ser. histórica, 5 (Toledo: Instituto de Estudios Mozárabes, 1989), pp. 25–59; Marie Thérèse d'Alverny and Georges Vajda, 'Marc de Tolède: Traducteur d'Ibn Tūmart', *al-Andalus*, 16 (1951), 100–40, 259–307, and *al-Andalus*, 17 (1952), 1–56; Marie Thérèse d'Alverny, 'Deux traductions latines du Coran au moyen âge', *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge*, 16 (1948), 61–131.

Christians in al-Andalus and in North Africa. This restoration of episcopal sees in the formerly Christian south of the Iberian Peninsula was closely related to the highly political question of the Iberian primacy. During almost four decades as archbishop, Rodrigo proved to be a fierce and restless defender of his diocese's claim to ecclesiastical supremacy within the Hispanic church. It is possibly here that one can find the main motivation for Rodrigo's historical writings: in his chronicles the Toledan archbishop presented his metropolis as the indisputable political as well as ecclesiastical capital of the whole of Hispania, even if Muslim 'tyranny' may have temporarily obscured its glory. Rodrigo's treatment of the *History of the Arabs* is to be seen within this programmatic framework.

The *Historia Arabum* forms part of a voluminous 'national' history of Spain, which Rodrigo Jiménez wrote between *c.* 1240 and 1245. Because of the political and cultural fragmentation of the Iberian Peninsula following the Arab invasion and the breakdown of the Visigothic kingdom in 711, Rodrigo had to conceptualise this History of Spain as the sum of several smaller histories — one for each kingdom or realm which had for a time ruled a part of Hispania and its inhabitants. Thus Rodrigo's *Historia Hispanie* consists of five monographic 'histories': besides the main text, the *Historia de rebus Hispanie sive Historia Gothica*, and the already mentioned *History of the Arabs*, there are a *Historia Romanorum*, a *Historia Ostrogothorum* as well as a collection of smaller histories of Germanic tribes who once settled in the Iberian Peninsula such as the Vandals, the Suebes, or the Silingians. In a lengthy prologue Rodrigo dedicated his work to King Fernando III of Castile-León and explained that all five histories together form the complete *Historia Hispanie* Fernando had asked for.[7]

In his *Historia Arabum*, Rodrigo tells the history of the Muslim realm of al-Andalus, the 'regnum Cordube', from its alleged beginnings in the lifetime of the prophet Muhammad until the end of the eleventh century. According to Rodrigo's concept, the origins of Muslim Spain were to be found in the seventh century,

[7] See *Historia de rebus Hispanie*, in *Roderici Ximenii*, ed. by Valverde, Prologus, pp. 6–7, ll. 75–90: 'Inter omnes autem principes Gothorum reges secula precipuos habuerunt [...] quorum insignia usque ad tempora que me pretereunt derivavi, addens aliqua que eorum historie famulantur necnon et clades quas Hispania pertulit ante eos, in qua Hispania [...] dominio resederunt, ubi etiam ab Arabibus sub Roderico rege Dei iudicium pertulerunt. Vobis itaque [...], inclite rex Fernande, ortum eorum qui primo in Hispaniis habitarunt, et bella Herculis que exercuit super eos, et que Romani mortis iudicia intulerunt, et quibus Vandali, Silingi, Alani et Suevis exiciis consumpserunt [...] sollicitus compilavi'. For Rodrigo's historiographic concept of a '*Historia Hispanie*', see Maser, *Die Historia Arabum*, pp. 73–99; Norbert Kersken, *Geschichtsschreibung im Europa der 'nationes': Nationalgeschichtliche Gesamtdarstellungen im Mittelalter* (Weimar: Böhlau, 1995), pp. 34–40, 58–77.

when Muhammad freed the Arabs from Byzantine domination and became the first king of an independent 'regnum Arabum' — thus leading the 'gens Arabum' into history. Later on, this 'regnum' was expanded and eventually became an 'imperium' stretching from India to the Iberian Atlantic coast. As a result of political changes in 751–56, the Western province of al-Andalus separated from this Arab Empire — which from Rodrigo's Hispanic perspective must appear as an 'Affricanum imperium' — and hence was ruled for almost three centuries as a sovereign realm by the Umayyad 'reges Cordube'. Although the 'monarchie unitas' of al-Andalus fell apart into 'particularia dominia' during the epoch of the Taifa kings after 1031, for Rodrigo only the Almoravid invasion from North Africa in 1086–91 ended the political autonomy of Muslim Spain, which now again became a dependent province of a foreign empire.[8] As a consequence of this conquest, 'Wandalucia' lost its national, specifically Hispanic identity and therefore was no longer of any interest to Rodrigo's *Historia Hispanie*. Though in the last chapter of his work he cursorily follows the history of the Almoravids until the middle of the twelfth century, for Rodrigo the genuine *Historia Arabum* of Spain had come to its end when al-Andalus was no longer ruled by sovereign 'Spanish' kings and emirs but had become only an appendix of the multiethnic and multi-'national' empire of the Maghrebi Berber dynasty. Without the congruence of political reign and Hispanic 'patria', for Rodrigo the rule of the Almoravids lacked any 'Spanish' identity and thus was not to be counted among the 'acta regum [...] Hispanie' which to him constituted Spain's 'national' history. From 1086 on, according to Rodrigo's historiographic model, only the Christian Iberian kings could claim this 'Spanishness' of their deeds and so they became the exclusive protagonists of Hispania's history. Thus, for Rodrigo, after 1086 there was no longer a Spanish *Historia Arabum* but only the Christian *Historia Hispanie*, distinguished and legitimized by its glorious Gothic inheritance. It is hardly surprising that this *Historia Gothica* is mainly a history of Reconquest.

The *Historia Arabum* is unique in the Latin literature of its epoch.[9] There is no other surviving text that shares Rodrigo's extraordinary perspective on the

[8] See *Historia Arabum*, chap. XVIII (pp. 114–15, ll. 18–37).

[9] See Rainer Christoph Schwinges, 'Die Wahrnehmung des Anderen durch Geschichtsschreibung: Muslime und Christen im Spiegel der Werke Wilhelms von Tyrus (d. 1186) und Rodrigo Ximénez' de Rada (d. 1247)', in *Toleranz im Mittelalter*, ed. by Alexander Patchovsky and Harald Zimmermann, Vorträge und Forschungen, 45 (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1998), pp. 101–27 (p. 107). In this article Schwinges argues that the now lost 'Chronicle of Oriental Rulers' by William of Tyre might be seen as an early equivalent to Rodrigo's extraordinary attitude towards Islamic people and their mundane history.

history of a non-Christian people. Usually Christian authors at that time looked at pagans and unbelievers only as objects of Christian salvation history: they were the objects of evangelization and mission, or perhaps in some cases even the instruments of God's anger against his own sinful people.[10] But no other Latin historian of the Middle Ages would have thought of the 'heathen' Arabs as a people with a real history of their own. Of course some writers (for example, the chroniclers of the crusades) did not totally ignore what happened beyond the boundaries of Christendom. But normally they treated such events from a strictly Christian perspective and only focused on the effects those events had on Christian society and its history. Consequently, in their works Muslims appear as historical agents when waging war against God's true believers or in the context of diplomatic negotiations; only rarely reported are events and developments within the Islamic world, which have no direct impact on Christianity, to be found in these texts. Considering this normal pattern in medieval Latin historiography[11], the extraordinary character of Rodrigo's perspective on the *Arabes* of al-Andalus becomes clear: in his *Historia Arabum* he not only granted them their own, independent history but also apparently looked at them almost without any religious zeal. His *Arabes* do not appear as morally depraved adherents of a diabolic sect, as the Christian Middle Ages used to defame Islam and its believers, but just as members of an *ethnic* entity. Therefore Rodrigo did not write a *Historia Saracenorum* but a neutral *Historia Arabum*. In Rodrigo's times 'Saracenus' was the common Latin appellation for a Muslim, thus almost inevitably evoking a religious quality. By using the ethnic term 'Arabes', Rodrigo attenuated this religious connotation and moreover avoided the polemical content of 'Saracenus' which Isidore of Seville once and for all had 'unmasked' as a malicious example of onomastic camouflage: according to Isidore and his countless medieval followers, by allegedly calling themselves 'Saraceni' (Σαρακηνοί, in Isidore's judgement the equivalent of Σαράγενοι, 'offspring of Sarah'), the Arabs tried to hide the disreputable fact that they as Ismaelites actually stemmed from Hagar, the unfree and humble slave of Abraham.[12] The same terminological restraint can also

[10] Schwinges, 'Die Wahrnehmung', pp. 101–05; Pick, *Conflict and Coexistence*, p. 75.

[11] See Ron Barkai, *Cristianos y musulmanes en la España medieval: El enemigo en el espejo*, 2nd edn (Madrid: Rialp, 1991); Norman Daniel, *Islam and the West: The Making of an Image*, 3rd edn (Oxford: Oneworld, 1997), pp. 255–301; Bernard Richard, 'L'Islam et les musulmans chez les chroniqueurs castillans du milieu du moyen âge', *Hésperis-Tamuda*, 12 (1971), 107–32.

[12] *Isidori episcopi Hispalensis Etymologiarum sive Originum libri XX*, ed. by Wallace M. Lindsay, Oxford Library, Scriptorum Classicorum Bibliotheca Oxoniensis (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911; repr. 1957), bk IX, chap. 2, periods 6 and 57: 'Saraceni dicti, vel quia ex Sarra genitos se

be observed in Rodrigo's choice of political categories well known to Western readers like 'gens', 'rex', 'regnum', and 'imperium' rather than religious ones such as 'secta', 'falsa religio', or 'pseudo-propheta' in order to explain the character of the Arab-Muslim community and its relationship to its founder Muhammad.

The unique character of Rodrigo's *Historia Arabum* has more than once been noticed by modern scholars. In comparison with other works of the usually very aggressive and polemic Medieval Latin literature on Islam, Rodrigo's *Historia Arabum* was thus identified as an extraordinary example of 'pragmatic tolerance'.[13] Already in the nineteenth century, historians such as Pascual de Gayangos[14] suggested that this otherwise unusual attitude towards the Muslims and their history was partly due to Rodrigo's use of Arab sources. But despite the impressive efforts of numerous historians it has not so far been possible to identify exactly which Arab chronicles Rodrigo worked with. The widespread hypothesis — originally proposed by Claudio Sánchez Albornoz and Engracia Ferré[15] — that it must have been the unfortunately lost historical compilations of Ahmad ar-Rāzī[16] (d. 955)

praedicent.[...] Ipsi Agareni ab Agar; qui, ut diximus, perverso nomine Saraceni vocantur, quia ex Sarrae se genitos gloriantur'. Many medieval writers thus used the aggressive term 'Agareni' to show the 'real' deceitful character of the Muslim people, see Ekkehard Rotter, *Abendland und Sarazenen: Das okzidentale Araberbild und seine Entstehung*, Studien zur Sprache, Geschichte und Kultur des islamischen Orients: Neue Folge, 2 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1986), pp. 68–77, 253.

[13] Schwinges, 'Die Wahrnehmung', p. 121. A similar assessment of Rodrigo's work is provided by Christian Rohr, who incorporated translated sections of the *Historia Arabum* in a collection of historic sources on the development of the concept of 'tolerance' in European History, see Christian Rohr, 'Die tugendhafte Vorbildlichkeit arabischer Herrscher: Ausgewählte Texte in Übersetzung aus Rodrigo Jiménez de Rada, Geschichte der Araber', in *Wege zur Toleranz: Geschichte einer europäischen Idee in Quellen*, ed. by Heinrich Schmiedinger (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2002), pp. 89–92.

[14] Pascual de Gayangos, 'Memoria sobre la autenticidad de la Crónica denominada del Moro Rasis', *Memorias de la Academia de la Historia*, 8 (1852), 307–36.

[15] Claudio Sánchez Albornoz, *En torno a los orígines del feudalismo*, 2nd edn, 3 vols (Buenos Aires: Editorial Universitaria de Buenos Aires, 1974–77; repr. Madrid : Istmo, 1993), II (1974), 306–17; Engracia Ferré, 'Une Source nouvelle pour l'histoire de l'Espagne musulmane', *Arabica*, 14, 3 (1967), 320–26.

[16] The chronicle of ar-Rāzī, covering the history of al-Andalus from its mythical beginnings in pre-Islamic times until the lifetime of the caliph 'Abd ar-Rahmān III (912–61) did not survive as a whole. All we have today are numerous citations in the compilations of younger historiographers which allow to reconstruct at least parts of the original text, see Évariste Levi-Provencal, 'La *Description de l'Espagne* d'Ahmad ar-Rāzī', *al-Andalus: Revista de las Escuelas de estudios árabes de Madrid y Granada*, 18 (1953), 51–108. A second book describing the history of the Visigothic kingdom until the Muslim invasion of 711 survived in a Castilian translation from the early four-

and Ibn Hayyān[17] (d. 1076), proved to be wrong.[18] So, with the exception of about a quarter of the text which is clearly based on the Latin *Chronica muzarabica*,[19] it has so far been impossible to compare Rodrigo's version of the Arab history of al-Andalus with his exact sources. This fact has its effects on the assessment of Rodrigo as comparatively tolerant: it is still unclear to what degree Rodrigo himself is the 'author'[20] of his *History of the Arabs*. Did he himself intentionally omit all polemical attacks against the Muslims or did he instead only adopt the attitude of his sources by paraphrasing them? Is the *Historia Arabum* really *the* extraordinary example of inter-cultural or inter-religious tolerance which it is often seen to be?

First of all, it has to be emphasized that Rodrigo had proved to be unusually open-minded towards the alien culture by the mere fact that he consulted Arab chronicles for his work. Historiographical literature from the Islamic world did usually not arouse the interest of Latin scholars and translators. The translation

teenth century, see *Cronica del Moro Rasis: 889–955*, ed. by Diego Catalán and Maria Soledad de Andrés, Fuentes cronísticas de la historia de España, 3 (Madrid: Gredos, 1975).

[17] Of Ibn Hayyān's voluminous historical work, '*Kitāb al-Muqtabis*', only fragments have survived in different editions: Ibn Hayyān, *al-Muqtabis II: Anales de los emires de Córdoba Alhaquém I (180–206 H. / 796–822 J. C.) y Abderramán II (206–232 / 822–847), edición facsímil de un manuscrito árabe de la Real Academia de la Historia*, ed. by Joaquín Vallvé Bermejo (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1999); Ibn Hayyān, *La primera década del reinado de Al-Hakam I, según el Muqtabis II,1 de Ben Hayyān de Córdoba (m. 469 h./1076 J. C.)*, ed. and trans. by Joaquín Vallvé Bermejo and Francisco Ruiz Girela, Publicaciones de la Real Academia de la Historia, ser. minor, 5 (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 2003); Ibn Hayyān, *al-Muqtabas (II) min anbā' ahl al-Andalus*, ed. by Mahmūd 'Alī Makkī (Beirut: Dār al-Kitāb al-'Arabī, 1973); Ibn Hayyān, *al-Muqtabis (III), tome troisième: Chronique du règne du caliphe umaiyade ʿAbd Allāh à Córdove*, ed. by Melchior M. Antuña (Paris: Geuthner, 1937); Ibn Hayyān, *al-Muqtabis (VII) fī ahbār al-Andalus*, ed. by 'Abd ar-Rahmān al-Hāǧǧī (Beirut: Dār al-Thaqāfah, 1965), trans. by Emilio García Gómez, *Anales palatinos del califa de Córdoba al-Hakam II por ʿĪsā b. Ahmad ar-Rāzī* (Madrid: Sociedad de Estudios y Publicaciones, 1967).

[18] For the problem of the identification of Rodrigo's sources, see Maser, *Die Historia Arabum*, pp. 140–93; see also Maria Crego Gómez, 'La fuente árabe de la historia del Emirato omeya de al-Andalus en la Historia Arabum de Jiménez de Rada' in *E-Spania: Revue électronique d'études hispaniques médiévales*, 2 (2006) <http://e-spania.revues.org/document274.html> [accessed 5 December 2011]

[19] *Chronica muzarabica*, in *Estudio crítico sobre la crónica mozárabe de 754*, ed. by José Eduardo López Pereira (Zaragoza: Anubar, 1980); and *Chronica muzarabica*, in *Corpus scriptorum muzarabicorum*, ed. by Juan Gil, 2 vols (Madrid: Instituto 'Antonio de Nebrija', 1973), I, 15–54.

[20] Peter Linehan has suggested that Rodrigo might not be the 'author' of his works but rather the 'mastermind' of a 'humming history factory', see Peter Linehan, *History and the Historians of Medieval Spain* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), pp. 351, 361.

programme of the so called 'school of Toledo',[21] where from the second half of the twelfth century many scholars gathered and made the city a European centre of knowledge-transfer between East and West, mainly concentrated on science and ancient Greek philosophy.[22] The Islamic world, its religion, culture, and history were of virtually no interest to the academic elites in Toledo, Paris, or Oxford.[23] Rodrigo Jiménez did not share this narrow perspective. He showed an extraordinary willingness to approach the Muslim world by using its own traditions and writings when he turned his attention to the historiographical literature of Muslim al-Andalus.

As stated above, the specific annals or chronicles Rodrigo consulted for his *Historia Arabum* are still unknown and, considering the many losses of manuscripts from Muslim Spain, will probably remain so in the future. So the search

[21] On these Arabic–Latin translation activities centred in Toledo, see, among many others, Charles Burnett, *The Coherence of the Arabic–Latin Translation Programme in Toledo in the Twelfth Century*, International Workshop 'Experience and Knowledge Structures in Arabic and Latin Sciences', Max Planck Institute of the History of Science Berlin, December 16–17 1996 (Berlin: Max-Planck-Institut für Wissenschaftsgeschichte, 1997); Charles Burnett, 'The Institutional Context of Arabic–Latin Translations of the Middle Ages: A Reassessment of the "School of Toledo"', in *Vocabulary of Teaching and Research between Middle Ages and Renaissance, Proceedings of the Colloquium London Warburg Institute, 11–12 March 1994*, ed. by Olga Weijers (Turnhout: Brepols, 1995), pp. 214–35; Danièlle Jacquart, 'L'ecole des traducteurs', in *Tolède XII^e–XIII^e: Musulmans, chrétiens et juifs. Le savoir et la tolérance*, ed. by Louis Cardaillac (Paris: Autrement, 1991), pp. 177–91; José S. Gil, *La escuela de traductores de Toledo y sus colaboradores judíos* (Toledo: Instituto Provincial de Investigaciones y Estudios Toledanos, 1985).

[22] Marie Thérèse d'Alverny, 'Translations and Translators', in *Renaissance and Renewal in the Twelfth Century*, ed. by Robert L. Benson, Giles Constable, and Carol D. Lanham (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), pp. 421–62 (p. 422); Charles Burnett, 'The Translation Activity in Medieval Spain', in *The Legacy of Muslim Spain*, ed. by Salma Khadra Jayyusi, in *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, ed. by B. Spuler and others (Leiden: Brill, 1952–), Abteilung 1, 12 (1992), pp. 1036–58 (p. 1048).

[23] At first glance the famous so called 'Toledan collection' of Islamic religious texts, including the Koran as well as popular traditions about the prophet Muhammad, whose translation was ordered by the abbot of Cluny, Peter the Venerable, in 1142, seems to be an exception; on this *Collectio Toletana*, see James Kritzeck, *Peter the Venerable and Islam* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964). In 1209 Rodrigo Jiménez himself ordered a second translation of the Koran and several accompanying religious texts on Almohad theology, see above, n. 6. Neither translation project was motivated by a special interest in the cultural or religious characteristics of the Islamic community but were meant as a weapon against the 'infidels' and their false doctrine, see d'Alverny and Vajda, 'Marc de Tolède: Traducteur', p. 104; Jacquart, 'L'École des traducteurs', p. 182; see also, Tim Rayborn, 'Peter the Venerable and the Toledan Collection', *Medieval Life: A New Magazine of the Middle Ages*, 6 (1997), 15–18.

for Rodrigo's sources should no longer concentrate on specific works and authors but should widen its focus to look at the Arabic historical tradition as a whole. Arabic historical writing in the Middle Ages was dominated even more than contemporary Latin literature by the technique of compilation.[24] Nearly all chronicles from al-Andalus thus share roughly the same corpus of historical information and anecdotes, which are usually almost identical in content and wording. Therefore it is possible to identify for each section of Rodrigo's Latin text corresponding passages in the works of numerous Arab historians. That provides us with the opportunity to compare Rodrigo's version of historical events bit by bit with the original Arabic tradition.

The result of such a comparison is almost disappointing;[25] Rodrigo barely changed anything in the narrative of his Arabic sources. For by far the greater part of its chapters the *Historia Arabum* turns out to be nothing but a paraphrase of Muslim historical traditions, simply translated from Arabic into Latin. This discovery alters the previous assessment of the *Historia Arabum* as a document of an extraordinarily tolerant mentality. In his *History of the Arabs* Rodrigo did not reveal his own, personal view of the Muslims and their past but only translated into Latin the historiographical self-perception of the Muslim community of al-Andalus. It can hardly come as a surprise that in this Muslim version of the Hispano-Arab past all the typical invectives and disparagements against Islam and its followers usually to be found in Christian-Latin polemics are missing. The allegedly tolerant attitude of the *Historia Arabum* towards Muslims thus is obviously not a result of Rodrigo's intentional composition of the text, but on the contrary, is the result of the omission of any such composition.

However it would also be a mistake to assume that this omission itself was a sign of tolerance or of an unbiased perspective on Rodrigo's part. This becomes obvious when we take a look at the framework of Rodrigo's Spanish national history[26]: the prologue of the *Historia Arabum* leaves no doubt about Rodrigo's

[24] For the formal characteristics of Muslim historiography and its origins in the oral *ahbār*-tradition, see Albrecht Noth, *The Early Arabic Historical Tradition*, 2nd edn in collaboration with Lawrence I. Conrad, trans. by M. Bonner (Princeton: Darwin, 1994); Pedro Chalmeta, 'Una historia discontinua e intemporal (jabar)', *Hispania*, 33 (1973), 23–75; Fred M. Donner, *Narratives of Islamic Origins: The Beginnings of Islamic Historical Writing*, Studies in Late Antiquity and Early Islam, 14 (Princeton: Darwin, 1998).

[25] See Maser, *Die Historia Arabum*, pp. 155–72, 231–91, and 359–590.

[26] Also the terrible *excidia Arabum* (*Historia Arabum*, prologue, 4) form an integral part of Hispania's past, see Roderici Ximenii de Rada, 'Historia Romanorum', in *Roderici Ximenii Opera omnia, pars III*, ed. by Valverde, pp. 37–57, prol., p. 37, ll. 2–6: 'Quia direptiones Herculis,

clearly negative appraisal of the Muslims and their contribution to Spain's history. Rodrigo here calls on his audience to read the *Historia Arabum* as a chronicle of all the bitter blows Spain had to suffer since the Muslims had come to the peninsula. For him, the approximately five hundred years of Muslim presence in the Iberian peninsula constituted a period of constant infestation by which God punished his Christian people for former sins.[27] Obviously Rodrigo wanted his *History of the Arabs* to be understood as a tale of woe for Spain. This becomes even clearer in Rodrigo's main work, the *Historia de rebus Hispanie sive Historia Gothica*, of which the smaller *History of the Arabs* is only a supplement. Here the picture of the Muslims differs scarcely at all from the aggressive caricatures of Islam and its followers usually to be found in the Christian anti-Islamic literature of that time. In his main work Rodrigo used all the derogatory and polemic terminology[28] against the Muslims whose omission from the *Historia Arabum* has been interpreted as a proof of his seemingly tolerant attitude towards the other. Even if most of the aggressive terms and passages in the *Historia de rebus Hispanie* can be traced back to Rodrigo's Latin sources, the telling fact remains that Rodrigo copied them without hesitation and did not find it necessary to alter their tone.

Another telling example of apparent 'pragmatic tolerance' from the *Historia Arabum* is Rodrigo's depiction of the life of the prophet Muhammad.[29] The life of the prophet — the *pseudo-propheta* as he was often called — offered the Latin authors an ideal opportunity to denigrate the founder of the enemy religion together with his alleged revelations by drawing a repulsive caricature.[30] All the

quas gens misera pertulit Hesperorum in superioribus capitulis declaraui, que Romani, Vandali et Suevi, Alani et Silingi et Arabes Machometi et qualiter Hispanias inuaserunt et que ei multiplicata supplicia addiderunt prosequi dignum duxi'.

[27] In *Historia Arabum*, chap. IX (p. 100, ll. 4–9) Rodrigo calls the caliph al-Walīd I, whose troops conquered the Visigothic realm of Spain, the 'virga furoris Domini' aimed against the 'populi pestilentes Hispanie'.

[28] A search, for example, for the term 'Agarenus' and its derived forms (like 'Agareni', 'hagarenica', etc.) in Rodrigo's *Historia de rebus Hispanie*, conducted in Cetedoc Library of Christian Latin Texts (database published by Brill), results in more than 50 quotations.

[29] *Historia Arabum*, chaps I–VI, pp. 88–96.

[30] Jean Flori, 'La Caricature de l'Islam dans l'occident médiéval: Origine et signification de quelques stéréotypes concernant l'Islam', *Aevum: Rassegna di scienze storiche linguistiche e filologiche*, 66 (1992), 245–56; Svetlana Luchitskaja, 'The Image of Muhammad in Latin Chronography of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', *Journal of Medieval History*, 26 (2000), 115–26; Albrecht Noth, 'Muhammad (3) The Prophet's Image in Europe and the West: The Image in the Middle Ages', in *Encyclopaedia of Islam: New Edition*, ed. by Peri Bearman and others, 12 vols (Leiden: Brill, 1986–2004), VII (1993), 377–81; Daniel, *Islam*, pp. 255, 267–76.

negative traits which the Christians usually ascribed to the Muslims collectively, such as cruelty, dishonesty, or sexual obsession, were depicted as personal defects of their prophet. In his biography, the Christian reader could instantly recognize what evil forces and human vices had combined to bring forward the dangerous heresy of Islam. The fictitious but nonetheless generally accepted caricature of Muhammad was in every detail the very opposite of all virtues and merits which distinguished the true, Christian saint.[31] Latin writers on Islam depicted Muhammad as a brutal drunkard,[32] a murderer,[33] an epileptic,[34] an adulterer,[35] and liar who finally was poisoned by his own followers[36] or, even worse, was devoured by a horde of wild dogs or pigs.[37] For Christian readers at the time, there could have been no doubt about the truth of these narratives: even if one or another of these polemic episodes might be historically incorrect, it still supposedly revealed the well known 'real' character of Islam as a false and morally depraved doctrine.[38]

[31] John V. Tolan, 'Anti-Hagiography: Embrico of Mainz's *Vita Mahumeti*', *Journal of Medieval History*, 22 (1996), 25–41.

[32] Bernhard Bischoff, 'Ein Leben Mohammeds (Adelphus?) (XII. Jahrhundert)', in *Anecdota novissima: Texte des vierten bis sechzehnten Jahrhunderts*, Quellen und Untersuchungen zur lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters, 7 (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1984), pp. 106–22 (p. 120).

[33] Bischoff, 'Ein Leben Mohammeds', p. 121.

[34] This topos appeared for the first time in the ninth century: 'Anastasii Bibliothecarii Chronographia tripertita', in *Theophanis Chronographia*, ed. by Carl de Boor (Leipzig: Teubner, 1883–85; repr. Hildesheim: Olm, 1965), II (1885), 31–346 (p. 209). Later examples: Guibert of Nogent, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, in *Dei Gesta per Francos et cinq autres textes*, ed. by R. B. C. Huygens, CCCM, 127A (Turnhout: Brepols, 1996), bk I, chap. 4 (pp. 307–12); Gautier de Compiègne, '*Otia de Machomete*', ed. by R. B. C. Huygens, in *Le Roman de Mahomet de Alexandre du Pont (1258)*, ed. by Yvan P. Lepage (Paris: Klincksieck, 1977), pp. 96–204 (see l. 401); Lucas of Tuy, '*Chronicon Mundi*', in *Lucae Tudensis Opera omnia, tomus I*, ed. by Emma Falque, CCCM, 74 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), bk III, chap. 5 (p. 167, ll. 47–49).

[35] Peter the Venerable, '*Summa totius haeresis Saracenorum*', ed. by James Kritzeck, in Kritzeck, *Peter the Venerable and Islam*, pp. 204–11 (p. 207).

[36] Lucas of Tuy, '*Chronicon mundi*', bk III, chap. 6 (p. 169, ll. 17–29); Jacques de Vitry, *Histoire orientale / Historia orientalis*, ed. and trans. by Jean Donnadieu, Sous la règle de Saint Augustin, 12 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), chap. VII (pp. 140–42).

[37] Eulogius of Córdova, '*Liber apologeticus martyrum*', in *Corpus scriptorum muzarabicorum*, ed. by Juan Gil, 2 vols (Madrid: Instituto 'Antonio de Nebrija', 1973), II, 270–314, 485; Embrico of Mainz, '*Vita Mahumeti*', in *Embricon de Mayence: La Vie de Mahomet,* ed. by Guy Gambier, Latomus, 52 (Brussels: Latomus, Revue d'études latines, 1962), p. 88, ll. 1023–34; Guibert of Nogent, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, bk I, chap. 4, pp. 381–401; see Daniel, *Islam*, pp. 126–29.

[38] Guibert of Nogent, *Gesta Dei per Franco*, bk I, chap. 3: 'Frustra plane ab aliquo si falsa an vera sint discutiatur [...], securus enim quis de eo male cantat, cuius malignitas quicquid pravi

In this respect, too, Rodrigo's *Historia Arabum* seems at first glance to differ from the usual patterns of contemporary Latin literature on Islam. In his biography of Muhammad, the previously mentioned denigrations and aggressive tales are missing. This alone is a fact worth mentioning. Furthermore, for his depiction of Muhammad's life, Rodrigo did not rely on the Christian but on the authentic Muslim tradition about the prophet and his actions. Rodrigo was the very first author in the Christian West to open up to his readers in a Latin translation a selection of key passages from the authoritative Muslim biography of the prophet by the Arab historiographer Ibn Ishāq (d. 767/768).[39] His *History of the Arabs* thus offers a collection of the most important Islamic traditions about the prophet and his miracles: the opening of Muhammad's breast by two angels and the cleansing of his heart from original sin,[40] his decisive role in the re-building of the holy Kaaba in Mecca,[41] his nocturnal journey from there to Jerusalem,[42] and his ascent through the seven spheres of heaven as well as his personal encounter with God,[43] just to mention some of the better known examples. Moreover, in addition to these narrations and legends Rodrigo also adopted the correct chronology of the prophet's life established in an almost canonical form for all further Islamic 'hagiography' by Ibn Ishāq and his pupil Ibn Hišām (d. 834).

Thus Rodrigo's life of the prophet seems to differ positively from the aggressive attitude of other Latin writers towards Islam and the Muslims. At first glance, his treatment of the subject gives the impression of an impartial, almost

dicitur transcendit et superat' (ll. 255–60).

[39] Ibn Ishāq, *Kitāb sīrat rasūl Allāh: Das Leben Muhammed's nach Muhammed Ibn Ishâk bearbeitet von Abd el-Malik Ibn Hischâm: Aus den Handschriften zu Berlin, Leipzig, Gotha und Leyden*, ed. by Ferdinand Wüstenfeld, 3 vols (Göttingen: Dieterichsche Universitäts-Buchhandlung, 1858–60; repr. Frankfurt: Minerva, 1961); Ibn Ishāq, *The Life of Muhammad: A Translation of Ibn Ishāq's Sīrat rasūl Allāh with Introduction and Notes*, trans. by Alfred Guillaume (London: Oxford University Press, 1955).

[40] *Historia Arabum*, chap. I, p. 88, ll. 19–26; see Maser, *Die Historia Arabum*, pp. 242–49.

[41] *Historia Arabum*, chap. II , p. 89, ll. 24–48; see Maser, *Die Historia Arabum*, pp. 257–64.

[42] *Historia Arabum*, chap. V, pp. 92–93 ll. 11–31; see Maser, *Die Historia Arabum*, pp. 273–78.

[43] *Historia Arabum*, chap. V, pp. 93–95, ll. 31–94. On Rodrigo's probable sources for the so called mi'rāğ-story, see Maser, *Die 'Historia Arabum'*, pp. 278–88; Miguel Asín Palacios, *La escatología musulmana en la Divina Comedia*, 4th edn (Madrid: Hiperión, 1984), pp. 376; Enrico Cerulli, *Il 'Libro della scala' e la questione delle fonti arabo-spagnole della Divina Comedia* (Vatican City: Biblioteca apostolica vaticana, 1949; repr. Graz: Akademische, 1960), p. 352; José Muñoz Sendino, *La escala de Mahoma: Traducción del árabe al castellano, latin y frances, ordenada por Alfonso X El Sabio* (Madrid: Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores, Dirección General de Relaciones Culturales, 1949), p. 128.

friendly perspective. But again this first impression proves to be wrong when we look behind the façade. Already in his prologue to the *Historia Arabum* Rodrigo had explicitly called Islam a 'virus pestiferum', a deadly poison which befalls the souls and minds of the weak.[44] He wanted his biography of Muhammad to be understood as a telling example of the two main character traits assigned to all Arabs in common — 'sevicia et versucia',[45] savagery and disingenuousness — and labelled all believers in the Islamic 'perfidia' or 'infamis doctrina' flatly as 'uiru diabolico debriati et libidine dulcorati infelices populi' (infidel people inebriated by a diabolical poison and appeased by lust).[46]

Thus Rodrigo explicitly participated in the hostile attitude towards Islam and the Muslims common to virtually all other Christian authors. If one does not let oneself be blinded by his admittedly extraordinary use of source material from the Muslim historical tradition, one can in fact recognize behind Rodrigo's depiction of Muhammad's life the well-known Christian caricature. Rodrigo did not copy the Islamic version of the Life of the Prophet as a whole but only adopted selected information and some of the major hagiographic legends which he re-arranged in a new narrative framework matching his Christian readers' expectations. Though using considerable amounts of authentic Islamic material, in the end Rodrigo recreates the well known story: he too presents his *Machomat* as a poor orphan who was driven by undue ambitions, and against all divine order ascended to power over his people by means of violence, fraud, and blasphemy; he too cites the usual stereotypes such as the sexual voraciousness of the notorious adulterer *Machomat*,[47] his alleged attestation as the chosen leader of his people by a 'falsum miraculum',[48] and his feigned revelations which to Rodrigo were strongly redolent of epileptic seizures.[49] Within this interpretative framework the narratives taken from the Muslim tradition about Muhammad could not but

[44] *Historia Arabum*, prol., pp. 22–25: 'Aduertat autem lectoris studium qualiter mentita reuelatio uersuti hominis Machometi ex corde finxit uirus pestiferum, qui libidinosas animas quasi nexibus colligavit'.

[45] *Historia Arabum*, prol., pp. 20–22: 'De eius origine, predicatione et regno, que relatione fideli et eorum scripturis [...] ad detegendam gentis illius seuiciam et uersuciam, satis breuiter explicaui.'

[46] *Historia Arabum*, chap. VI (p. 96, l. 27).

[47] *Historia Arabum*, chap. II (p. 89, ll. 20–24); in *Historia Arabum*, prol., 24. Rodrigo stated that especially 'libidinosae animae' would fall victim to the 'mentita revelatio' of Muhammad.

[48] *Historia Arabum*, chap. II (pp. 89-90, ll. 24–48); 'falsum miraculum', see chap. III (p. 91, l. 19).

[49] *Historia Arabum*, chap. VI (p. 96, l. 20).

'prove' the truth of the Christian view on Islam and its founder: in Rodrigo's eyes, the prophet's own account of his alleged ascent into heaven or the tradition about his first public recognition as prophet on the occasion of the renovation of the holy Kaaba, unmasked the falsehood of *Machomat* and his doctrine as clearly as any of the aggressive Christian tales about the prophet could have done.

But for all that, there still is a clear difference between Rodrigo's *vita* of Muhammad and those of his Latin fellow authors: Rodrigo almost never made use of the polemical potential the Christian stereotypes had to offer against Islam and the Muslims. While, for example, Mark of Toledo (d. after 1214) who in 1209 had translated the Koran for Rodrigo and whose anti-Islamic prologue therefore must have been known to the Toledan archbishop, used the pseudo-Greek etymology of Muhammad's birth town Mecca — μοιχεία, that is, 'adultery'[50] — to attack the prophet and his followers, Rodrigo in his *Historia Arabum* not only skipped this absurd derivation but even relocated Muhammad's alleged birth place to the historically incorrect but onomastically unsuspicious town 'Hyatrib [...] prope Mecha'[51]; whereas contemporary authors like James of Vitry (d. 1240) maliciously reinterpreted the authentic Islamic traditions about the prophet's military confrontations with the Quraysh of Mecca to vilify Muhammad as the head of a brutal band of outlaws, robbers and 'highwaymen',[52] Rodrigo depicted him as the leader of his people's struggle against the *servitudinis amaritudo* (the bitterness of servitude) and the unbearable Byzantine tax burden.[53] Thus, to all appearances, Rodrigo did not intend actively to denigrate the alien religion by deliberate exaggerations of negative traits or hostile inventions. For him obviously 'reality' itself was enough to reveal the 'true' character of the Muslim heresy and its adherents.

To conclude: Rodrigo's attitude towards the Islamic world must not be misunderstood as 'tolerance'. Although in his *Historia Arabum* he mostly abstained from polemic attacks against the Muslims, he leaves no doubt about his generally hostile attitude towards them. Like virtually all other Latin writers on Islam, Rodrigo propagates the well-known negative image of the dreaded enemy. To all who hoped to find an early representative of inter-cultural tolerance this might

[50] Marc of Toledo, 'Prologue to the Translation of the Quran', ed. by d'Alverny and Vajda, in d'Alverny and Vajda, 'Marc de Tolède: Traducteur', pp. 1–56 (p. 45): 'Mecha, id est adultera'.

[51] *Historia Arabum*, chap. I (p. 88, l. 3). 'Hyatrib' obviously is the Latin transliteration of Yathrib, which after the prophet's immigration in AD 622 became Medina.

[52] Jacques de Vitry, '*Historia Orientalis*', chap. V (p. 110, ll. 28–36).

[53] *Historia Arabum*, chap. III (p. 91, l. 17) to chap. IV (p. 92, l. 22).

be disappointing. But would we not expect too much of a medieval archbishop by wanting him to show an openness towards the alien which our own time is still only slowly acquiring? For Rodrigo and his time, the assessment of Islam and its followers was beyond dispute. The Christians were convinced that they knew the real nature of the Muslims and their faith; a knowledge which was not measured by the authenticity of their information but by religious 'truth'. Therefore, even a learned man like Rodrigo who had studied the scriptures of Islam and was familiar with the Muslim historical traditions about the prophet and his deeds — that means: even a man who could have known better — in the last resort had no option. Of course he had to follow the 'true' interpretation of Islam. Nonetheless, it is to be counted among Rodrigo's merits that he did not illustrate the conventional Christian view of the Arabs and their religion with the obviously made-up horror stories of Latin literature but searched for correct and authentic information in the traditions of the Muslim community. With this mentality Rodrigo was still a pioneer in his own time: when King Alfonso X 'the Learned' in the 1280s incorporated a vernacular translation of the *Historia Arabum* into his own national history of Spain, known today as the *Primera Crónica General*, Rodrigo's writings about the history of the Andalusian Arabs, became part of the official 'collective memory' of Christian Castile-León. However, Alfonso deliberately broke up the monographic form of Rodrigo's chronicle and thus deprived the Andalusian *Historia Arabum* of its character as an independent and self-contained history. In the *Crónica General* the *History of the Arabs* was fragmented into its annalistic pieces, which were torn apart and rearranged according to a strictly Christian master-narrative of crusade and Reconquest.

Integration or Exclusion of Judaism in the Later Middle Ages? The Apologetic Strategies of Ramón Llull

Wolfram Drews

In certain aspects of his life and work Ramón Llull could almost appear as a modern scholar. Not only did he strive to acquire knowledge, but he also published a huge oeuvre of nearly three hundred books, which could make him a precursor of the modern practice 'publish or perish'. He is famous for his output in Catalan, which makes him one of the founders of Catalan as a literary language. In fact, he was the first medieval author to write on theological and philosophical issues in the vernacular, another aspect that adds a modern touch to his career.[1] He is reputed to have learnt Arabic from a Muslim slave, and he is credited with having written Arabic works afterwards.[2] His conviction that it is necessary to learn the language of adversaries in order to understand them is another apparently 'modern' element in his intellectual outlook.

[1] Walter Mettmann, *Die volkssprachliche apologetische Literatur auf der Iberischen Halbinsel im Mittelalter*, Geisteswissenschaften, Rheinisch-Westfälische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vortr., G 282 (Opladen: Westdeutscher, 1987), pp. 8–20; Anthony Bonner, 'Llull's Thought', in *Selected Works of Ramón Llull (1232–1316)*, ed. and trans. by Anthony Bonner, 2 vols (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), I, 53–70 (p. 55 n. 9).

[2] Llull himself claims to have written several books in Arabic and Latin (Ramon Llull, *Liber de fine seu de expugnatione Terrae sanctae*, in *Raimundus Lullus, Opera latina IX (120–122)*, ed. by Aloisius Madre, CCCM, 35 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1981), p. 256) (henceforth cited as *Liber de fine*); see also 'Vita beati Raimundi Lulli', ed. by Baudouin de Gaiffier, *Analecta Bollandiana*, 48 (1930), 130–78 (pp. 156, 175); Bonner, 'Historical Background and Life of Ramon Llull', in *Selected Works*, ed. and trans. by Bonner, pp. 3–52 (p. 18); Bonner, 'Llull's Thought', in *Selected Works*, ed. and trans. by Bonner, p. 55.

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Llull was born on the island of Mallorca in 1233, which had only recently been conquered by Christians from mainland Spain.[3] Occupying a position at the royal court, he married and had two children. Two decisive incidents changed the course of his life. Around 1263 he had several visions of the crucified Christ,[4] which induced him to leave his family in order to lead a monastic life. This conversion experience laid the basis for his scholarly career. It is tempting to speculate that his conversion may be a result of the famous Barcelona disputation of 1263.[5] The second decisive incident happened a few years later, when Llull experienced a revelation at Mount Randa.[6] He was convinced that he had received the intellectual key to the solution of the most acute religious problem troubling the Church in the (re)conquered territories of the Iberian peninsula and on his native Balearic islands: the confrontation and rivalry of the three monotheistic religions. He referred to this divinely revealed approach as his *Art*, which consisted in an ingeniously devised system combining elements of the Aristotelian *categories* and scholastic distinctions.[7] He extended and improved his *ars inveniendi veritatem* over several decades, arriving at the *ars generalis ultima* around 1305–08.

Llull used this method in his numerous works in order to explain Christianity to the so-called unbelievers, and he was convinced that a consistent and universal application of his *Art* would be able to overcome the religious divide between Christianity, Judaism, and Islam.[8] It is remarkable that the anonymous author of

[3] For Llull's biography, see Bonner, 'Historical Background and Life of Ramon Llull'; Heinz Schreckenberg, *Die christlichen Adversus-Judaeos-Texte und ihr literarisches und historisches Umfeld 13–20 Jahrhundert*, Europäische Hochschulschriften, 23/497 (Frankfurt: Lang, 1994), pp. 347–53 (with further literature).

[4] 'Vita beati Raimundi Lulli', ed. by De Gaiffier, chap. 2 (p. 146); Bonner, 'Historical Background and Life of Ramon Llull', p. 13.

[5] Anthony Bonner, 'Der neue Weg Ramon Lulls', in *Ramón Lull: Buch vom Heiden und den drei Weisen*, ed. by Hermann Herder (Freiburg: Herder, 1986), pp. 26–31; Bonner, 'Historical Background and Life of Ramon Llull', p. 16.

[6] 'Vita beati Raimundi Lulli', ed. by De Gaiffier, chap. 14 (p. 152); Bonner, 'Historical Background and Life of Ramon Llull', p. 22. The passage alludes implicitly to Moses' revelation on Mount Sinai, for example, in the way used to highlight the place where the feet are standing.

[7] For Aristotle's *categories*, see George Christopher Stead, 'Kategorienlehre', *Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, 20 (2004), 574–600.

[8] 'In sermone isto est datum exemplum, per quod homo sciens Artem generalem sciet applicare prophetias sive auctoritates Bibliae cum propositionibus necessariis': Llull, *Liber praedictationis contra Iudeos*, chap. 14, in *Raimundus Lullus, Opera latina XII (123–127)*, ed.

his *Vita* does not present this important, supposedly universal method as a result of study and intellectual effort, but as a 'mere' divine revelation.[9] This highlights the hagiographer's desire to stress the prophetic status of his hero as well as the orthodox content of his message. Llull's *Vita* takes great care to establish the case that his works were divinely revealed, so that they could not be regarded as heretical. Implicitly, on the level of motifs, Llull is compared to Moses; in the case of Abraham this comparison is made explicitly.[10] One of the main purposes of Llull's *Vita* is to show the orthodoxy of his method, which is highlighted by the fact that he was able to teach it publicly in Paris, the centre of scholasticism.[11]

The application of his *Art* rested on the assumption that reason constituted the common nature of all human beings; therefore rational arguments were thought to provide conclusive proof of Christian truth.[12] A discussion with 'unbelievers' with the help of *cogentes rationes* (compelling reasonings) was supposed to show Christian truth, although in a rather abstract way:

by Aloisius Madre, CCCM, 38 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1984), p. 34 (henceforth cited as *Liber praedicationis contra Iudaeos*). For a comprehensive analysis, taking into account Llull's adaptation of Jewish, especially kabbalistic traditions, see Harvey J. Hames, *The Art of Conversion: Christianity and Kabbalah in the Thirteenth Century*, The Medieval Mediterranean, 26 (Leiden: Brill, 2000).

[9] 'Vita beati Raimundi Lulli', ed. by De Gaiffier, chap. 20 (p. 156): 'Raymundum post conversionem ipsius ad penitentiam recepisse in quodam monte divinitus scientiam quandam sanctam pro conversione infidelium'; 'Vita beati Raimundi Lulli', ed. by De Gaiffier, chap. 23 (p. 159): 'Ars predicta, quam noverat se recepisse a Deo ad multorum salvationem et Dei honorem precipue'.

[10] 'Vita beati Raimundi Lulli', ed. by De Gaiffier, chap. 24 (p. 160).

[11] 'Vita beati Raimundi Lulli', ed. by De Gaiffier, chap. 42 (p. 173): 'philosophicis rationibus exhibebat roboratam doctrinam'.

[12] See *Liber de fine*, chap. 1. 2 (p. 256): 'in summa divina trinitate, et quod de ipsa damus ita cogentes rationes, quod intellectus humanus contra ipsas non potest contrarium consentire' (application against Muslims); *Liber de fine*, chap. 1. 3 (p. 259): 'colligendo auctoritates Veteris testamenti [...] quod illas auctoritates reducant ad necessarias rationes. Quoniam auctoritates non sunt contra rationem [...] quod illi sapientes, in hebraico sic studentes, multas auctoritates colligerent et haberent, et ipsas ad rationes necessarias applicarent' (application against Jews). This also holds true for arguments against the Tartars: 'cum rationibus probativis' (*Liber de fine*, chap. 1. 5 (p. 266)). Also Llull's hagiographer knew of his predilection for *rationes* (see, for example, 'Vita beati Raimundi Lulli', ed. by De Gaiffier, chaps 26, 44 (pp. 161, 174): 'rationes cogentes tam philosophicas quam theologicas' (against the followers of Averroes). On Llull's critical approach towards rationalism see, however, Bonner, 'Llull's Thought', p. 58. On the similar approach of Llull and Thomas Aquinas towards 'necessary reasons', see Gustave E. von Grunebaum, *Medieval Islam: A Study in Cultural Orientation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1946), p. 51.

> cum quodam Iudaeo de fide per rationes cogentes volui disputare [...] quod cum talibus cogentibus rationibus cum ipso volebam disputare, cum quibus omnes suas ei solverem rationes, et meas ipse dissolvere non posset ullo modo (I wished to discuss faith with a certain Jew, using compelling reasonings [...] that I wished to discuss with him with such compelling reasonings, with which I broke up all his arguments, but he was not able in any way to refute mine).[13]

It is, however, quite suspicious that the Jew is said to have fled in the end because he dreaded having to appear once more in the disputation. This is not the success Llull can have wished for, since the Jew did not convert to Christianity as a result of Llull's 'convincing proof'. According to his *Vita*, his missionary success in Muslim territories was only prevented by force, but all the same Llull did not achieve the desired result, precisely as in the aforementioned case of the Jew.[14] However, Llull's belief in the effectiveness of his method remained unshaken. He virtually styled himself as a prophet sent to reveal the only possible way to overcome the religious divide between the various faiths.

Llull travelled to France and Italy in order to convince the pope and his curia as well as secular princes that they should found monasteries where the languages of the 'unbelievers' should be studied.[15] Missionary training was to comprise two stages: linguistic preparation was to be supplemented with an initiation into Llull's revealed *Art*. In view of his gigantic efforts his actual success was rather meagre. Although he managed to found a missionary college in Miramar at Mallorca, had already this institution disappeared a few years later, and only at the end of his life did he manage to induce the council of Vienne (1311–12) to approve of the foundation of schools for oriental languages in Rome and at the universities of Paris, Bologna, Oxford, and Salamanca.[16] In spite of this programmatic conciliar endorsement of Llull's most favoured project, the practical outcome of this decision seems to have been rather modest.

[13] *Liber de fine*, chap. 1. 5 (p. 268).

[14] Bonner, 'Historical Background and Life of Ramon Llull', p. 36.

[15] This information is mainly based on his own accounts, and there is a perplexing lack of reference to his activities in other sources. See *Liber de fine*, prol., p. 250: 'aliqua monasteria aedificari concederent et construi, in quibus aliqui valentes homines litterati, pro Christo desiderantes mortem pati, diversas linguas infidelium addiscerent et audirent, ut per consequens per universum mundum irent evangelium praedicatum' (!) For a more detailed description of his plans concerning the monasteries, see *Liber de fine*, chap. 1. 1 (pp. 252–55).

[16] 'Vita beati Raimundi Lulli', ed. by De Gaiffier, chap. 44 (p. 174); Berthold Altaner, 'Raymundus Lullus und der Sprachenkanon (can. 11) des Konzils von Vienne (1312)', *Historisches Jahrbuch*, 53 (1933), pp. 190–219; Bonner, 'Historical Background and Life of Ramon Llull', p. 48.

Llull's missionary endeavours were directed at both Muslims and Jews.[17] His native territory of Mallorca had been conquered by the Christians only a few years before his birth; there were large numbers of especially Muslim, but also of Jewish inhabitants.[18] The conversion of Muslims was at the top of Llull's agenda; mission among the Jews came only in second place.[19] This was doubtless due to the ongoing political significance of Islamic kingdoms; by way of converting Muslim rulers and authorities, Llull hoped to pave the way for a conversion of their subjects. Such a strategy could of course not be employed in the case of Judaism, but nonetheless Llull was also intent on spreading Christianity among Jews.[20]

Out of the huge corpus of Llull's works I shall examine three texts that are relevant for an analysis of his approach to Judaism. Not long after his revelation experience, around 1275/77, Llull wrote his famous *Book of the Gentile and the Three Wise Men*, perhaps first in Arabic and later in Catalan.[21] In an idyllic setting,

[17] Mark D. Johnston, 'Ramón Llull and the Compulsory Evangelization of Jews and Muslims', in *Iberia and the Mediterranean World of the Middle Ages: Studies in Honour of Robert I. Burns S.J.*, ed. by Larry J. Simon, The Medieval Mediterranean, 4, 2 vols (Leiden: Brill, 1995), I, 3–37.

[18] Bonner, 'Historical Background and Life of Ramon Llull', p. 9.

[19] Significantly Jews are not mentioned in his *Vita*, even though his *Liber praedicationis contra Iudaeos* had been written before, in 1305. His knowledge about Islam was, however, also quite limited; he claims that Muslims have several beliefs in common with Christians, but this is neither true for his assertion that they believe Jesus Christ to be the son of god nor for his claim that they hold that the virgin Mary conceived him of the Holy Spirit and remained a virgin for the rest of her life; see *Liber de fine*, chap. 1. 2 (p. 255).

[20] Harvey J. Hames, 'Ramón Llull y su obra polémica contra los judíos', in *La controversia judeocristiana en España (desde los orígenes hasta el siglo XIII): Homenaje a Domingo Muñoz León*, ed. by Carlos del Valle Rodríguez, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, B/11 (Madrid: CSIC, Instituto de Filología, 1998), pp. 317–44; Harvey J. Hames, 'Approaches to Conversion in the Late Thirteenth-Century Church', *Studia Lulliana*, 35 (1995), 75–84; Harvey J. Hames, 'Discourse in the Synagogue: Ramon Llull and his Dialogue with the Jews', in *Constantes y fragmentos del pensamiento luliano*, ed. by Fernando Domínguez and Jaime de Salas, Beihefte zur Iberoromania, 12 (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1996), pp. 99–115; Eusebio Colomer, 'Die Beziehungen des Ramón Llull zum Judentum im Rahmen des spanischen Mittelalters', in *Judentum im Mittelalter. Beiträge zum christlich-jüdischen Gespräch*, ed. by Paul Wilpert, Miscellanea Mediaevalia, 4 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1966), pp. 183–227.

[21] Charles Lohr, 'Ramón Lull und der Dialog zwischen den Religionen', in *Ramón Lull: Buch vom Heiden und den drei Weisen*, ed. by Hermann Herder (Freiburg: Herder, 1986), pp. 20–22 (p. 22); Ramón Sugranyes de Franch, 'Le *Livre du Gentil et des trois sages* de Raymond Lulle', in *Juifs et judaïsme de Languedoc*, ed. by M.-H. Vicaire, Cahiers de Fanjeaux, 12 (Toulouse: Privat, 1977), pp. 319–55. Bonner rejects the assumption that the book may have been written in Arabic first; see Bonner, 'Historical Background and Life of Ramon Llull', p. 19, n. 74; Bonner, 'Introduction', in *Selected Works*, ed. by Bonner, pp. 93–103 (p. 93). According to Bonner, Llull

an educated but irreligious pagan meets three scholars, a Jew, a Christian, and a Muslim. Each of them explains the basic tenets of his religion in an urbane and friendly manner. The pagan is actually surprised that they do not profess the same religion, even though they claim to believe in one god. He promises to opt for one out of the three faiths, but the three wise men do not wait for his decision; they rather continue their discussion among themselves. It is remarkable that intellectual argument is presented as the way to arrive at the truth, as well as to answer the question of which is the true religion. The basis of this peaceful academic exchange is provided by the fact that the three scholars use the same method, searching for combinations of divine names and attributes;[22] in this respect the *Book of the Gentile* is an implementation of his *Art*.[23] Llull realized that abstract philosophical arguments about the divine were more likely to lead to common ground than hermeneutical discussions about particular texts and authorities deriving from one religion only, because such arguments were likely to be rejected by adherents of the other faiths.[24] The dialogue presupposes a social setting similar to the scholastic milieu of European universities, since the pagan is addressed as a master (*magister*) of philosophy.[25] In a very remarkable statement, one of the three scholars declares that faith is so deeply entrenched in people that it is nearly impossible to overcome it by preaching or by way of disputations.[26]

wrote the book in Catalan, referring to an Arabic work of a predecessor. The popularity of the *Book of the Gentile* is attested by several medieval translations into Latin (already in Llull's lifetime), French, and Spanish. For a comprehensive analysis, see Hames, *The Art of Conversion*, pp. 94 and 159; and Roger Friedlein, *Der Dialog bei Ramon Llull: Literarische Gestaltung als apologetische Strategie*, Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie, 318 (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2004), pp. 59–98.

[22] Lohr, 'Ramón Lull und der Dialog zwischen den Religionen', p. 24.

[23] Bonner, 'Introduction', p. 97.

[24] Bonner, 'Der neue Weg Ramon Lulls', p. 28; Bonner, 'Llull's Thought', p. 58; Harvey J. Hames, 'Conversion via Ecstatic Experience in Ramon Llull's *Llibre del gentil e dels tres savis*', *Viator*, 30 (1999), 181–200. See *Libre del gentil e dels tres savis*, 'The Book of the Gentile and the Three Wise Men', in *Selected Works*, ed. and trans. by Bonner, I, 110–304 (p. 116): since the scholars cannot agree on the authority of holy texts, Llull explains, they resort to *rationes necessariae* (on these see above, n. 12). Very telling is the 'solution' to the problem of the trinity: since the Muslim and the Christian cannot agree on a common view, they postpone their decision (*Libre del gentil*, chap. 4. 1: 'The Book of the Gentile', in *Selected Works*, ed. and trans. by Bonner, p. 260). This is completely different from the approach adopted later by Llull himself in the *Liber praedicationis contra Iudaeos* (see below).

[25] *Libre del gentil*, chap. 3. 2–4 ('The Book of the Gentile', trans. by Bonner, p. 197).

[26] *Libre del gentil* ('The Book of the Gentile', trans. by Bonner, p. 302). See also Harvey J.

In many medieval literary dialogues, truth is presented as a given 'fact' at the outset, which only needs to be understood by one of the partners in the course of the argument. In these cases it is a foregone conclusion which of the partners is going to prevail, since truth is exclusively to be found on his side. By contrast, in Llull's dialogue truth still has to be established, and no single partner is presented as being its one and only advocat and possessor.[27] The three scholars agree that they worship the same god, although their service is performed in different ways. They promise to meet again in order to pursue their irenic discussion until they will have arrived at a decision, which they promise to make known to mankind. The final outcome remains open, but taking into account that the book may have been written between 1274 and 1276 as a kind of textbook for the aforementioned missionary college of Miramar, founded precisely in 1276,[28] it must have been designed to provide an argumentative setting for the ultimate victory of Christianity. This outcome is, however, not inherent in the text itself; it can only be hypothetically reconstructed on the basis of the historical circumstances at the time of writing. It is also reasonable to speculate that Llull wanted to present a model of an atmosphere in which inter-religious discussions should be staged and carried through.[29]

About thirty years later, in August 1305, Llull wrote his *Liber praedicationis contra Iudaeos*, which consists of fifty-two sketches of sermons, perhaps each one to be delivered another week throughout the year. The author, who at the time was staying in Barcelona, uses his *Art* to prove the doctrine of the incarnation and the trinity, in most cases starting from an Old Testament passage.[30] His argument

Hames, 'On the Polemics of Polemic: Conceptions of Medieval Jewish–Christian Disputation', *Studia Lulliana*, 37 (1997), 131–36.

[27] For different concepts of dialogue, see Wolfram Drews, 'Dogmatischer oder emergenter Dialog? Überlegungen zur Konzeptualisierung theologischer und philosophischer Erkenntnis im Hochmittelalter', *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch*, 39 (2004), 371–88. On the philosophical background to Llull's dialogue, see Fernando Domínguez, 'Der Religionsdialog bei Raimundus Lullus: Apologetische Prämissen und kontemplative Grundlage', in *Gespräche lesen: Philosophische Dialoge im Mittelalter*, ed. by Klaus Jacobi, ScriptOralia, 115 (Tübingen: Narr, 1999), pp. 263–90. For a comprehensive analysis of Llull's concept of dialogue, see Friedlein, *Der Dialog bei Ramon Llull*, who argues for an interpretation as an abstract model (pp. 243–58).

[28] Bonner, 'Der neue Weg Ramon Lulls', p. 30; Bonner, 'Introduction', pp. 98–100.

[29] Bonner, 'Introduction', p. 98.

[30] This procedure is in line with ancient patristic doctrine, but it hardly reflects the intellectual outlook of rabbinic Judaism. For the patristic foundations, see Augustine of Hippo, *Adversus Judaeos*, in PL, 42, cols 51–64 (col. 52): 'De sanctis ergo Scripturis, quarum et apud ipsos magna habetur auctoritas, sumenda sunt testimonia, quorum et si nolint oblata utilitate

rests mainly on the assumption of a dynamic inner-trinitarian relationship. In April 1305, a few months before he composed this collection of sermons, Llull had written his *Liber de fine*, in whose first part he combats Muslims and Jews, this time followed by a refutation of Christian heretics and of the Tartars.[31]

However, there is a remarkable difference between his initial irenic presentation of the different monotheistic religions in the *Book of the Gentile* on the one hand and his more dogmatic application of his *Art* in later years on the other. Even though he uses his method in all the works mentioned, he chooses different rhetorical strategies. If we restrict our analysis to his presentation of Judaism, it becomes clear that the Jewish religion is conceptualized and instrumentalized in different ways. In his *Book of the Gentile*, Llull describes a monotheistic religion, which has fundamental similarities to both Christianity and Islam. The author starts from the assumption of an abstract, philosophical religion, and his main aim is to pinpoint similarities between different monotheistic faiths and his notion of a philosophical religion. From this perspective, Judaism emerges as part of the monotheistic 'commonwealth'; it is incorporated into the community of religions characterized by a rational, philosophical penetration of faith. This presentation provides the basis for staging a discursive argument, in which Judaism is part of a dialogue marked by the search for truth.[32]

This dialogue is staged not as a dogmatic exposition, which would proceed from the assumption that truth is already known; it is rather presented as an emergent dialogue, which is characterized by a genuine quest for the (still unknown) truth. None of the participants of this emergent discussion is presented as being in the possession of truth; all of them are shown to be in need of further

sanari, aperta possint veritate convinci'; Gregory the Great, *epistola* XIII, 13 in *Gregorius Magnus, Registrum epistularum libri VIII–XIV, Appendix*, ed. by D. Norberg, Corpus Christianorum series latina, 140A (Turnhout: Brepols, 1982), p. 1014: 'ut eis ex eorum codicibus ostendentes quae dicimus'; Augustine of Hippo, *Altercatio ecclesiae et synagogae*, in *Opera omnia*, ed. by J. N. Hillgarth and M. Conti, Corpus Christianorum series latina, 69A (Turnhout: Brepols, 1999), 'Ego te de tuo Testamento revincam'. For Llull's *Liber praedicationis*, see Hames, *The Art of Conversion*, pp 105, 235–38.

[31] See *Liber praedicationis contra Iudaeos*, chap. 33 (p. 55): 'Per praedictas syllogisticas rationes et per multas alias potest Christianus praedicare et concludere contra Iudaeos et Saracenos. Quae quidem syllogisticae rationes sunt indestructibiles'. However, there seem to be some traces of disappointment and personal failure when Llull complains of the obstinacy and iniquity of Jews and Muslims, who refuse to follow reason (see *Liber praedicationis contra Iudaeos*, p. 48, § 73).

[32] Walter Andreas Euler, '*Unitas et Pax': Religionsvergleich bei Raimundus Lullus und Nikolaus von Kues*, Religionswissenschaft, 15 (Würzburg: Echter, 1990).

discussion and intellectual endeavours, and truth can only be obtained by an interchange of arguments.[33] The search for truth is presented as intellectually challenging and delightful. In view of the different, if not diametrically opposed implications of finding versus possessing the truth, Bonner's following statement is slightly puzzling: 'The purpose of the *Art* is the "finding" or "demonstrating" of the truth'.[34] Similarly confusing is Llull's own statement that it is possible to achieve two aims with one and the same work, that is, proving Catholic faith to unbelievers and reassuring Catholics in their own faith: 'The subject of this Art primarily consists in demonstrating the truth of the holy Catholic faith through the use of necessary reasons to those who are ignorant of it, as well as reassuring those who already know and believe it'.[35] These two aims require two rather distinct approaches and methodologies, one directed at convincing opponents, refuting their objections by conclusive arguments ('proselytizing missions'), the other aiming at a 'mere' education of members of one's own group.[36] This distinction precisely matches the one between dogmatic and emergent dialogues, the fundamental misunderstanding being the assumption that it is possible to convince non-Christians of Christian truth simply by addressing them in dogmatic dialogues.[37] The success of this approach has hardly ever been established in Church history.

In Llull's *Book of the Gentile*, the Jewish partner participates in the scholarly endeavour of searching for truth on equal terms, as does the Muslim. This is possible because the argument does not depend on religious revelation or authorities, but is rather marked by an almost detached common dedication to philosophy, which in turn acquires increased social significance by generating values that can serve as a foundation for social interaction. Philosophy thus overcomes traditional boundaries, but — we might ask — may it also create new ones? In the text, human reason is presented as uniting the representatives of all the different

[33] *Libre del gentil* ('The Book of the Gentile', trans. by Bonner, p. 300).

[34] Bonner, 'Llull's Thought', p. 66.

[35] Bonner, 'Llull's Thought', p. 69.

[36] For a terminological distinction between different kinds of 'mission', see Martin Goodman, *Mission and Conversion: Proselytizing in the Religious History of the Roman Empire* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), p. 3. Goodman singles out four ideal types of 'mission': information, education, apology, and conviction; only the latter aims at acquiring converts.

[37] Marco Rühl, *Arguing and Communicative Asymmetry: The Analysis of the Interactive Process of Arguing in Non-Ideal Situations*, Europäische Hochschulschriften, 13, 263 (Frankfurt: Lang, 2002).

groups; it transcends particular revelations.[38] Throughout his works, Llull uses the revealed system of the *Art*; this philosophical, scholastic revelation is used to relativize particular revelations, at least temporarily for the sake of argument. Contemporary philosophical illumination is presented as being able to supplement biblical revelation. It is interesting to observe that this philosophical approach is combined with an appreciation of religious ethics in all three religions, which opens up additional possibilities to arrive at an understanding.

By contrast, Llull's two later works are no longer characterized by this spirit of intellectual exchange. In fact, they are not even dogmatic dialogues, the scene being marked by a Christian monologue. Therefore Judaism no longer has a share in the quest for truth; in fact, truth has not to be looked for in the first place, because it is supposed to be already known, being identified with Christianity. Judaism is not integrated into a commonwealth of monotheistic religions, it is rather perceived as a negation of philosophical religion, the positive content of Jewish practice and belief being denied any religious value at all. Basically, Llull presents the image of a hermeneutic Judaism, already present in patristic and earlier medieval authors, who instrumentalized Judaism for their own ends, using it as a foil to project the complementary images of supposedly correct and false religion.[39] In Augustinian thinking, Judaism served as a hermeneutic device pointing to Christian truth,[40] but Llull discards even this model, denying Judaism any positive function at all. Because Judaism allegedly contradicts truth it cannot possibly serve as a witness to Christianity, and it is not even in a position to contribute to the search for truth. Judaism is presented on exclusively Christian terms, in a manner contrary to any possible didactic approach. In his treatise

[38] For the recourse to reason in interreligious dialogue in the High Middle Ages, see Gilbert Dahan, 'L'Usage de la *ratio* dans la polémique contre les juifs, XII^{e}–XIV^{e} siècles', in *Diálogo filosófico-religioso entre cristianismo: Judaísmo e islamismo durante la edad media en la Península Ibérica*, ed. by Horacio Santiago Otero, Rencontres de philosophie médiévale, 3 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1994), pp. 289–307.

[39] Robert A. Markus, 'The Jew as a Hermeneutic Device: The Inner Life of a Gregorian Topos', in *Gregory the Great: A Symposium*, ed. by John C. Cavadini, Notre Dame Studies in Theology, 2 (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1995), pp. 1–15; Jeremy Cohen, *Living Letters of the Law: Ideas of the Jew in Medieval Christianity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).

[40] 'Quid est enim hodie aliud gens ipsa, nisi quaedam scrinaria Christianorum, baiulans legem et prophetas ad testimonium assertionis Ecclesiae, ut nos honoremus per sacramentum, quod nuntiat illa per litteram?': Isidore of Seville, *Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum: In Genesim*, 8, 7 (PL, 83, col. 236). See also Isidore of Seville, *Quaestiones in Vetus Testamentum: In Regum Primum*, 14, 6 (PL, 83, col. 402).

De fine we are surprised to read that his *Book of the Gentile* allegedly proves the superiority of Christianity.[41]

Especially in his later years, Llull's missionary endeavours explicitly proceeded from Christian presuppositions and assumptions. He grew increasingly impatient at the apparent failure of his revealed method, whose validity was nonetheless taken for granted. The *Book of the Gentile* stands out for its didactic approach, being marked by an invitation to faith and joint quest for truth. In this treatise, Judaism is integrated into the orbit of philosophical religion. It is telling that the dialogue is set into an almost Arcadian scene, untroubled by political and social problems. At the beginning of his missionary career, right after his revelation experience, Llull may have been rather optimistic, hoping to be able to convince rival religions of Christian truth by way of this detached, academic approach. His disappointment at his personal failure in disputations in North Africa and his inability to convince Christian clergy and princes of the viability of his missionary strategy resulted in a hardening of his outlook,[42] which was aggravated by the loss of the last Latin strongholds in the Holy Land in the final decade of the thirteenth century, something Llull resented a great deal.[43]

He was increasingly troubled by political and personal failure, which severely hampered his ability and willingness to acknowledge the viability of the irenic approach outlined in his earlier work.[44] Therefore he increasingly took the Christian concept of god for granted, drawing a clear distinction to the rivalling faiths.[45] His initial, optimistic belief in the openness of his revealed method,

[41] 'Liber gentilis, in quo Christianus, Saracenus et Iudaeus coram quodam gentili de veritate disputant. Et de fide per illum librum possent cognoscere, si volebant, quod sancta fides catholica obtinet veritatem, et quod Iudaei in errore sunt, et etiam Sarraceni' (*Liber de fine*, chap. 1. 5 (p. 267)).

[42] 'Sed ego homo de hoc nihil potui impetrare. Et quare non potui, fuit causa, quia bonum publicum amicos non habet' (*Liber de fine*, prol. (p. 251)).

[43] See his *Liber de fine seu de expugnatione Terrae sanctae*, written in April 1305: 'multi sunt infideles, qui [...] ad dedecus caelestis curiae possident Terram sanctam' (*Liber de fine*, prol. (p. 250)). In an autobiographical passage, Llull relates how he left everything in order to travel around the world to implore pope, cardinals, and secular princes to come to the help of the Holy Land (*Liber de fine*, prol. (p. 250)).

[44] For the two distinct periods of Llull's outlook, see Eusebio Colomer, 'Raimund Lulls Stellung zu den Andersgläubigen: Zwischen Zwie- und Streitgespräch', in *Religionsgespräche im Mittelalter*, ed. by Bernard Lewis and Friedrich Niewöhner, Wolfenbütteler Mittelalter-Studien, 4 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1992), pp. 217–36 (p. 225). See also Colomer, 'Raimund Lulls Stellung', p. 231: 'Der anfängliche Dialog hat einer Apologie des Christentums Platz gemacht'.

[45] 'Satis manifeste declaratur et probatur, quod Iudaei et Saraceni sunt semper in maximo

which was perceived and used as a bridge to other religions, was replaced by a largely dogmatic handling of a closed scholastic system perpetuating preconceived assumptions.[46]

The concept of a philosophical God, presented on entirely Christian terms, is repeated and propagated in every single one of his fifty-two sermons against the Jews; these almost circular repetitions mark the other faiths off from Christianity, which allegedly is the only viable and rational religion.[47] In 1299 he had obtained permission from the king of Aragon to preach to Jews and Muslims in synagogues and mosques throughout his realms.[48] It is remarkable that Llull assumes that many Jews would convert if they were not held back by fear of the poverty in which they would find themselves if they could no longer engage in usury.[49] However, his complaints that Jews obstinately refuse to follow reason belie his 'rational' approach: 'Nam prius oportet credere, deinde intelligere' (for it is necessary to believe first, then to understand).[50] Llull tacitly admits that preaching is not so much directed at Jews in order to convert them ('proselytizing mission', see above), but rather at Christians who want to preach (to other Christians: 'educating mission') against Jews: 'magnum subiectum sive materia, quam habet Christianus ad praedicandum contra Iudaeos' (the great subject or material which a Christian has for preaching against the Jews).[51]

The terms 'Jew', and also 'Saracen', become symbols of unphilosophical people who refuse to submit to scholastic reason, which is presented to them by Christian philosophers and clerics.[52] Llull repeats the standard Christian argu-

errore' (*Liber praedicationis contra Iudaeos*, 3 (p. 18)).

[46] The practical application of his *Art* always leads with necessity to an endorsement of Christian teaching: 'In sermone isto est datum exemplum, per quod homo sciens Artem generalem sciet applicare prophetias sive auctoritates Bibliae cum propositionibus necessariis, prout in isto sermone facimus; et talis doctrina est valde utilis ad confundendum infideles' (*Liber praedicationis contra Iudaeos*, 14 (p. 34)).

[47] For Llull's trust in preaching cf. *Liber de fine*, chap. 1. 1 (p. 254): 'Fides catholica incepit cum praedicatione'. Therefore he wanted Christian missionaries to preach to the Jews on Saturdays and Sundays, both in synagogues and in their homes (*Liber de fine*, chap. 1. 3 (p. 259)).

[48] Bonner, 'Historical Background and Life of Ramon Llull', p. 38, n. 142.

[49] For the reproach of usury, see *Liber praedicationis contra Iudaeos*, chap. 25 (p. 46).

[50] *Liber praedicationis contra Iudaeos*, chap. 50 (p. 75).

[51] *Liber praedicationis contra Iudaeos*, chap. 50 (p. 75).

[52] This generalizing view becomes apparent in the (stereotypical) use of 'etcetera' in the *Liber praedicationis contra Iudaeos*; see also *Liber praedicationis contra Iudaeos*, chap. 23 (p. 43): 'Per praedictam auctoritatem intendimus probare, quod Iudaei, etc., sunt in errore'.

ment used against Jews and Muslims, claiming that only Christians adhere to a high, philosophical concept of god, whereas Jews and Muslims are said to harbour mere earthly expectations and carnal desires, especially as regards eschatology.[53] The same is true of the alleged moral superiority of Christianity.[54] It becomes apparent that in these cases the application of the *Art* merely serves purposes of Christian identity-building and self-affirmation: 'Quare satis patet, quod Iudaei et Saraceni sunt in errore et falsitate; et similiter inde satis rationabiliter potest concludi, quod Christiani debent se multum congaudere' (For which reason it is sufficiently clear that the Jews and Saracens are in error and fallacy; and similarly from this it can be sufficiently rationally concluded that Christians should greatly rejoice together).[55] At the beginning of the fourteenth century it is especially noteworthy that Llull sticks to patristic assumptions about Judaism that by his time had long been disproved, something that had even been acknowledged by Christian theologians familiar with rabbinic teaching.[56] Christians are said to have both *existentia* and *agentia intrinseca* (existence and intrinsic activity, one of Llull's favoured concepts), whereas Jews and Muslims are reproached for living in 'mere existence'.[57]

It almost seems as if in his struggle against professional rivals in Paris and elsewhere, Llull increasingly came to identify his Christian opponents with the supposedly 'irrational' Jews and Muslims; everyone not following his supremely rational *Art* was perceived as an unphilosophical person. The more difficult circumstances of his life may also have narrowed down his intellectual outlook and rhetorical flexibility.[58] According to Bonner, Llull's different attitudes were conditioned by his intended audience; therefore the setting and tone of the *Book of the Gentile* may have been due to 'the pluralistic society of Majorca'.[59] This is

[53] *Liber praedicationis contra Iudaeos*, chap. 25 (p. 46).

[54] *Liber praedicationis contra Iudaeos*, chaps 31, 34 (pp. 53, 56).

[55] *Liber praedicationis contra Iudaeos*, chap. 43 (p. 67).

[56] For Llull's very traditional assumptions on Jewish exegesis, see *Liber praedicationis contra Iudaeos*, chap. 50 (p. 74): 'In hoc apparet rusticitas et ruditas Iudaeorum, qui stant ad litteram et non ad sensum allegoricum et tropologicum et anagogicum, sicut faciunt Christiani'; similarly, *Liber praedicationis contra Iudaeos*, chap. 35 (p. 57).

[57] *Liber praedicationis contra Iudaeos*, chap. 51 (p. 76).

[58] For Llull's different perspectives on the relationship of force and freedom in religion, see Berthold Altaner, 'Glaubenszwang und Glaubensfreiheit in der Missionstheorie des Raymundus Lullus', *Historisches Jahrbuch*, 48 (1928), 586–610.

[59] Bonner, 'Historical Background and Life of Ramon Llull', 1, 55. See also Hames, *The Art of Conversion*, pp. 84 and 117.

plausible, but it is telling that in later life Llull hardly ever lived in 'pluralistic' regions. His novel *Felix*, containing much traditional anti-Judaism (see *Felix*, bk 1, chap. 11[60]), was directed at a Christian, 'European' audience. He no longer talks to Jews and Muslims, but about them, presenting them in an unfavourable manner. He supplements a very traditional, patristic perspective on Judaism with an application of scholastic reasoning: 'Probavimus ergo, quod Iudaei et Saraceni sunt in errore per praedictos sermones. Et etiam probavimus per auctoritates Veteris legis et per problemata philosophiae' (Therefore I have proved through the aforesaid discourse that the Jews and Saracens are in error, and I have also proved it through the authority of the Old Law and philosophic debate).[61] The result is a presentation and declaration of Christian truth, but not a convincing argument designed to win over opponents.[62]

About a century and a half earlier we can observe a similar difference in the intellectual approach to non-Christian religions, although this time in two different people. The Jewish convert Petrus Alfonsi identified completely with his new faith, Christianity, which he presented as the only conceivable philosophical religion. Petrus Alfonsi was desperate to establish himself as a free teacher of philosophy and science in northern France, but as a convert from Judaism without monastic or ecclesiastical affiliation, who on top of that tried to spread novel scientific doctrines not in line with ancient philosophical tradition, he had great difficulty in attracting enough students to secure himself a living. This personal situation is reflected in his 'autobiographical' *Dialogues against the Jews*, which can be characterized as dogmatic dialogues, marked by an identification of truth and Christianity.[63]

By contrast, his contemporary Peter Abelard favoured a totally different approach in his *Dialogue between a Philosopher, a Jew, and a Christian*.[64] It is

[60] See Ramon Llull, *Libre de meravelles*, ed. by Salvador Galmés, 4 vols (Barcelona: Barcino, 1931), I, 116–22

[61] *Liber praedicationis contra Iudaeos*, p. 78.

[62] 'Et data est doctrina, per quam Christianus potest vere praedicare contra Iudaeos et Saracenos, et etiam contra philosophos, contradicentes legi christianae, arguendo eis cum problematibus' (*Liber praedicationis contra Iudaeos*, p. 78).

[63] Wolfram Drews, 'Propaganda durch Dialog. Ein asymmetrisches "Selbstgespräch" als Apologie und berufliche Werbestrategie in der Frühscholastik', *Francia*, 32 (2005), 67–89; Jonathan M. Elukin, 'The Discovery of the Self: Jews and Conversion in the Twelfth Century', in *Jews and Christians in Twelfth-Century Europe*, ed. by Michael A. Signer and John Van Engen, Notre Dame Conferences in Medieval Studies, 10 (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2001), pp. 63–76.

[64] Peter von Moos, 'Les *Collationes* d'Abélard et la "question juive" au XII[e] siècle', *Journal des*

remarkable that in the literary setting the person of Abelard himself does not present any one of the three faiths; the author rather adopts the position of the judge, listening quietly to the explanations of the three scholars. Abelard thus constructed an emergent dialogue, in which truth is not known to any single one of the participants, who have to search for it by way of intellectual exchange. The precondition of such discussions is that all participants share the same intellectual standing, being integrated in a common scholarly milieu. Abelard's *Dialogue* may be unfinished (as was assumed in earlier scholarship), but the author may equally have abstained from a final determination of truth, very much like Ramón Llull about one hundred and fifty years later in his *Book of the Gentile*.[65] If Abelard wrote his *Dialogue* around 1125–26, he would have been living and teaching in comparably peaceful academic surroundings at the Paraclete at the time of writing.[66] Such a context may have favoured his irenic approach to the question of religious truth. By contrast, there is no evidence that his slightly older contemporary Petrus Alfonsi ever lived in a comparably quiet situation after his conversion.

Strategies of exclusion presuppose a rather closed intellectual field, marked by a feeling of Christian superiority. This attitude entails a more or less dogmatic handling of the question of truth, which is supposed both to be known and to be in the possession of one's own group. This approach towards other religions, especially towards the Jews, was dominant throughout Christian history after the exclusion of Jewish Christians from the Church in the first centuries of the Christian era. By contrast, strategies of inclusion are based on a rather open intellectual field, which is the precondition for the emergence of something new and unexpected. Such an attitude of accepting 'the other' may lead towards a

savants, 97 (1999), 449–89; Hartmut Westermann, 'Wahrheitssuche im Streitgespräch: Überlegungen zu Peter Abaelards *Dialogus inter Philosophum, Iudaeum et Christianum*', in *Gespräche lesen: Philosophische Dialoge im Mittelalter*, ed. by Klaus Jacobi, ScriptOralia, 115 (Tübingen: Narr, 1999), pp. 157–97; Mary M. McLaughlin, 'Abelard as Autobiographer: The Motives and Meaning of his "Story of Calamities"', *Speculum*, 42 (1967), 463–88.

[65] For a comparison of the two authors, see Schreckenberg, *Die christlichen Adversus-Judaeos-Texte*, p. 351: 'Er (sc. Llull) wird gewöhnlich neben Abälard zu den — im Verhalten gegenüber Nichtchristen — toleranten Theologen des Mittelalters gerechnet.' The two dialogues are also similar in their unusual, open ending. The possibility that Abelard's dialogue may have been Llull's model for writing the *Book of the Gentile* is briefly mentioned by Bonner, 'Introduction', p. 94.

[66] According to Constant Mews, the dialogue (*Collationes*) was written around 1125–26; see also the General Introduction to Abelard's *Opera theologica: Petrus Abaelardus, Opera theologica III*, ed. by E. M. Buytaert and Constant J. Mews, CCCM, 13 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1987), p. 21.

genuine quest for truth. The (perhaps only pretended) relativization of one's own point of view — as in Abelard's *Collationes* or in Llull's *Book of the Gentile* — is at least a strategy of argument, which may open up the way towards an 'emergent' search for truth. The historical and social precondition of such an attitude is a comparatively 'pluralistic' atmosphere, nourished by an optimistic feeling of self-confidence, such as in thirteenth-century Mallorca.

We may conclude that the approach to the question of religious truth and the attitude towards other religions is to a large extent determined by the personal experience of people writing about these issues. Authors living in difficult circumstances (if real or imagined) are less likely to adopt an irenic position. There are only very few examples of medieval authors who were able to qualify and relativise their own point of view, if only for the sake of intellectual argument, or even mission among non-Christians. We also have to bear in mind that such an approach was always open to misunderstandings on the part of ecclesiastical authorities. The few examples of emergent literary dialogues are all the more surprising and fascinating.

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